

PUBLII OVIDII NASONIS
FASTORUM LIBRI SEX
The *Fasti* of Ovid



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The *Fasti* of Ovid

EDITED WITH A TRANSLATION AND COMMENTARY

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IN FIVE VOLUMES

VOL. I

TEXT AND TRANSLATION

MACMILLAN AND CO., LIMITED
ST. MARTIN'S STREET, LONDON

1929

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**PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN
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DIS • MANIBVS • VIRI • CLARISSIMI

CAESARIS • CONSULIS

QVI • VETVSTISSIMA • ROMAE • MONVMENTA

SAECVLORVM • INCVRIA • OBRVTA • ERVENDO

CVM • FAMAM • SIBI • SEMPITERNAM • CONCILIAVIT

TVM • VRBIS • AETERNAE • AETERNITATI • GLORIAEQVE • CONSVLVIT

PREFACE

§ 1. *The Fasti of Ovid*

THE *Fasti* of Ovid, a poetical treatise on the Roman calendar, was a work of the poet's mature years, and though it did not receive the last touches of the author's hand, it exhibits his powers and his learning at the full. He himself contrasts the seriousness of the theme with the light and playful character of the amatory verses to which he had devoted his youth, and by which he had established his position in the front rank of the poets who adorned the Augustan age.¹ He even apologizes for treating in the same elegiac couplets a subject of which the gravity appeared rather to call for the dignity and solemnity of the heroic measure.² For the Roman calendar was in a sense a condensed history of Rome; its entries recalled to the mind of the reader many dates fraught with proud or mournful memories of victories or defeats by land and sea, many picturesque legends of the olden time, many sacred rites that had been handed down from immemorial antiquity or imported from that venerable and mysterious East to which the Romans traced the origin of their nation.

Of all this wealth of poetical material Ovid has availed himself in the *Fasti*. In following the flow of his easy numbers we seem to unroll the annals of his country; or, to change the metaphor, the historical, legendary, or mythical personages appear to follow each other across the stage in long procession adorned with all the gorgeous trappings of poetic imagery. We see Evander and his prophetic mother coming from the far Arcadian highlands and settling on the hills by the Tiber, then covered with tangled woods

¹ *Fasti*, ii. 3 sqq., iv. 1 sqq.

² *Fasti*, ii. 125 sq.

or affording in their lonely glades a pasturage for sheep. We see at a later time Aeneas arriving from the smoking ruins of Troy, bringing with him his gods and founding the dynasty of the kings who reigned at Alba on the Alban hills, the mother city of Rome. The poet sketches in outline the history, or rather legend, of these ancient kings, now dim as dreams for us ; but he dwells at full length on the birth and early adventures of the twin brothers Romulus and Remus ; he describes the foundation of Rome by them and the sad death of Remus. In the history of the kings who followed Romulus on the throne he introduces us to the saintly figure of the pacific Numa, whose pious legislation occupies a position in the annals of Rome like that of Moses in the annals of Israel. He lets us see the miraculous birth and the atrocious murder of King Servius, hounded to death by his unnatural daughter, another Regan ; he narrates the crime by which Tarquin the Proud won for himself the kingly crown, and the crime by which he lost it. He tells with picturesque details the tragic story of the rape of Lucrece, and how the monarchy was abolished and the Republic established by the Hamlet-like figure of Brutus.

When he passes from these early times, in which the wings of poetic fancy could range freely, to the more prosaic history of the Republic, his notices of events become fewer and scattered at wider intervals over the centuries. But he describes the temporary secession of the plebeians in 494 B.C., the defeat and death of the brave three hundred Fabii in 477 B.C., the occupation of Rome by the Gauls in 390 B.C., and the glory and shameful death of Manlius Capitolinus, the saviour of the Capitol. He gives us a passing glimpse of the legislation of the Decemvirs in 450 B.C. ; he touches on the war with Pyrrhus and on the heroic figure of the blind censor Appius Claudius, who spurned the overtures of peace made by the Epirote king, then on the crest of the wave of victory. In the long struggle between Rome and Carthage for the domination of the ancient world our author mentions the dreadful defeat of the Trasimene Lake, the capture of Syracuse by Marcellus, and the death of Hannibal's brother, the gallant Hasdrubal, at the battle of the Metaurus, which turned the trembling scales of fortune in favour of

Rome and dashed for centuries the hope of Africa to maintain a firm foothold in Europe. He describes at length the coming of the Great Mother of the Gods from Asia to Italy, which in the popular imagination crowned with victory the Roman arms, but which with more reason the historian regards as the first wave in that great tide of Oriental religion which was fated to submerge the Roman Empire. He enumerates with patriotic pride the titles which Roman generals took from their conquests in Spain, Africa, Germany, and the East ; and on the other hand he records with grief the defeat and death of Crassus on the Euphrates, and with horror and indignation the murder of Julius Caesar on the fatal Ides of March.

When he comes down to his own time (he was born in 43 B.C., the year after the assassination of Caesar), he makes only an incidental allusion to the great victory of Actium in 31 B.C.¹ which established Augustus on the throne and laid the foundations of the Empire, but he dwells on not a few of the events which contributed to the power and glory of the new monarch and the stability of his dynasty. Thus he mentions the temple of Julius Caesar in the Forum, which was dedicated in 29 B.C. ; ² the restoration in 20 B.C. of the Roman standards which the Parthians had taken from Crassus ; ³ the pontificate conferred on Augustus in 12 B.C. ; ⁴ the title of Father of his Country bestowed on him in 2 B.C. ; ⁵ and the stately temple of Mars the Avenger which was consecrated in the same year in the magnificent new forum of Augustus.⁶ He records the restoration of the temple of the Mother of the Gods by Augustus in A.D. 3 ; ⁷ the dedication of the temple of Concord in A.D. 10,⁸ and the triumph of Germanicus,⁹ which was decreed in A.D. 15 and celebrated in A.D. 17 ; but whether the poet lived to hear of the actual celebration of the triumph is very doubtful, for he died in the same year, and news took long to travel from the capital to Tomi, on the dreary shore of the Black Sea, where Ovid dragged out the last ten years of his life in miserable exile.

But the historical string was not the only one which the

¹ *Fasti*, i. 711.

² *Fasti*, iii. 704.

³ *Fasti*, v. 585 *sqq*

⁴ *Fasti*, iii. 419 *sq.*

⁵ *Fasti*, ii. 127 *sq.*

⁶ *Fasti*, v. 551 *sq.*

⁷ *Fasti*, iv. 348.

⁸ *Fasti*, i. 637 *sq.*

⁹ *Fasti*, i. 285 *sq.*

poet struck in the *Fasti*; two others, from which he drew some of his sweetest music, were the astronomical and the religious. At the outset of his work he pays a glowing tribute to the genius and the character of the first astronomers, whom he conceived to have been men elevated far above the fret and fever of common life and the frailties of common humanity.¹ But if he admired the achievements, he appears not to have studied the methods, of these early pioneers of science; for his statements as to the rising and setting of the stars are often far from accurate, and he even enriched the celestial vault with a brand-new constellation unknown to astronomers both before and since—the constellation of the Kite, about which he tells a kite and bull story.²

Far more important and valuable than his lore of the stars are the numerous notices of religious rites which Ovid has interspersed throughout the poem. Among these are the two festivals of the dead, the Parentalia in February and the Lemuria in May, of which the latter has a particular interest for modern readers inasmuch as it seems to explain the prejudice, still current in England, against marrying in May. The very primitive ritual of the Lemuria speaks in favour of its high antiquity; for the reception of the ancestral spirits in the old home, and their subsequent polite dismissal, which were the leading features of the festival,³ have their counterparts in rites annually observed by many peoples in many parts of the world. No less primitive and quaint are the ceremonies which our author describes in honour of the God of Boundaries, incorporate in the stock or stone which marked the boundaries between the lands of neighbouring proprietors,⁴ and the ceremonies in honour of Mildew, conceived as a dangerous goddess, which the farmer celebrated in order to induce her to spare his ripening crops.⁵ The barbarous rite of tearing unborn calves from the bowels of their dams and burning them, for the sake of employing their ashes to fecundate the cattle and fertilize the fields, lost nothing of its barbarity because it was performed by the pure and gentle hands of the Senior Vestal Virgin.⁶ The ritual of the Parilia, again, observed on the twenty-first

¹ *Fasti*, i. 295 sqq.

⁴ *Fasti*, ii. 639 sqq.

² *Fasti*, iii. 793 sqq.

⁵ *Fasti*, iv. 905 sqq.

³ *Fasti*, v. 421 sqq.

⁶ *Fasti*, iv. 637 sqq.

of April, when shepherds leaped over three fires and drove their bleating flocks through the smoke and flames,¹ has also its analogies in customs still practised elsewhere, particularly by herdsmen at almost the same time of the year (St. George's day, the twenty-third of April) in many parts of Europe. The curious ceremonies of the Lupercalia, at which women were thought to conceive offspring by being struck with strips of goatskin,² taken in conjunction with the worship of Juno, goddess of childbirth, in her double character of Sospita ("Saviour") and Caprotina ("Goat-goddess"), have their closest parallels in the rites performed to this day by some tribes of Eastern Africa to ensure the birth of children. The festival of Midsummer Eve at Rome, when flower-crowned skiffs floated down the Tiber bearing merry bands of youthful revellers quaffing deep draughts of wine, till the stars came out in the summer sky,³ was the same festival which, appropriately dedicated by the Catholic Church to St. John the Baptist, is still celebrated on the same mystic Eve in the south of Europe, though in its modern form the element of fire appears to be more conspicuous than the element of water. Once more, in the month of May the Tiber witnessed another rite which apparently had its roots in those beliefs concerning the dangerous character of water-spirits which down to the present time are current among our European peasantry as among the ignorant and superstitious classes in many parts of the world; for it is probable that the rush-made effigies of men, which the Vestal Virgins threw from the old wooden bridge into the yellow stream of the Tiber,⁴ were intended as substitutes to compensate the river-god for the loss of the human victims whom, but for the bridge, he would have drowned at the ford.

Of the sources from which Ovid drew the materials for his poem he tells us little beyond the vague statement that they were "uncarthed from annals old,"⁵ but he names none of the annalists nor of his predecessors in the various lines of inquiry opened up in the *Fasti*. It is probable that he may have read some of the early Roman historians, such as

¹ *Fasti*, iv. 721 sqq.

² *Fasti*, ii. 427 sq.

³ *Fasti*, vi. 773-790.

⁴ *Fasti*, v. 621 sqq.

⁵ *Fasti*, i. 7, iv. 11.

the poet Ennius and the old annalist Quintus Fabius Pictor, and it is possible that he may have inspected the official *Annales Maximi* drawn up by the pontiffs, which formed the real basis of authentic Roman history. He certainly knew and used, though he does not mention, the great work of his contemporary the historian Livy, as his narratives of the tragedy of Lucretia and of the defeat and death of the Fabii suffice of themselves to prove. He naturally also consulted the official Roman calendar, of which a number of versions, for the most part fragmentary, have come down to us and afford invaluable help to a commentator on the *Fasti* by enabling him to check and control the statements of his author as to the dates of festivals and the foundation of temples. For the most part the records of these calendars confirm the poet's evidence and strengthen our faith in the general accuracy of his statements on points concerning which other evidence is lacking. He appears to have possessed also some knowledge of the local calendars of various Latin and Sabine towns, to which he repeatedly refers.¹ On questions of Roman religion we cannot doubt that he drew freely on the stores of the great antiquary Varro, whose existing works, scanty and fragmentary as they are, often illustrate the topics touched on by Ovid in his poem. He may also have known the writings of the learned grammarian Verrius Flaccus, whose treatise on the signification of words, though it survives only in the abridgements of Festus and Paulus Diaconus, is of itself almost a commentary on the *Fasti*.²

But Ovid was not dependent on literary sources alone for the materials which he incorporated in his poem. He employed oral inquiry and personal observation to supply the gaps in the literary record and to vivify the dry bones of books and inscriptions. Thus he consulted no less a personage than the Flaminica Dialis herself as to the proper date on which to give his daughter in marriage, and he received from her a valuable warning against a wedding in the early half

¹ *Fasti*, iii. 87 *sqq.*, vi. 57 *sqq.*

² The question of the literary sources employed by Ovid in the composition of the *Fasti* is learnedly and elaborately discussed by R. Merkel in the prolegomena to his great critical edition of the *Fasti* (Berlin, 1841), pp. lii *sqq.* But in the absence of direct evidence speculations on the subject are idle.

of June, coupled with interesting details as to the taboos to which the great priestess herself was subject at that season.¹ Again, he witnessed the same priestess begging for materials of purification in the month of February, and he saw a branch of pine given to her in compliance with her request,² though what she did with it he omits to say. Further, he observed the quaint ceremony performed by the Flamen Quirinalis in honour of the goddess Mildew, and he professes to record the very prayer which on that occasion the priest addressed to the dreaded divinity, imploring her to rust the soldier's weapons, now useless in the piping times of peace, but to spare the green and golden corn.³ Again he learned, or makes believe to have learned, from an old woman why Roman dames went barefoot at the feast of Vesta.⁴ He even informs us of the very spot where he fell in with the ancient crone, who prattled to him of days long gone by. It was not far from the temple of Vesta, at the point where the cross-road ran up from the Forum to join the New (but very old) Way, which skirted the northern slope of the Palatine. The cross-road still exists and has often been trodden by the feet of the poet's commentator as well as of the poet himself. Again, from an old friend who lived at Carseoli, among the Sabine hills, Ovid received an account of the reason for burning foxes alive at the festival of Ceres, and of the reason why a law of the place forbade people to mention a fox by name.⁵ Indeed, this Sabine friend of our author would appear to have been a mine of the folk-lore which lingered among the glens of the Apennines; for Ovid implies that not a little of the traditionary matter incorporated in the *Fasti* was derived from the lips of the host in whose hospitable house at Carseoli the poet used to lodge on his way to his native town of Sulmo, farther up among the mountains. Again, Ovid's description of the great pastoral festival—the Parilia—in April is based on his own observation; for he tells us that he had often taken part in it, bringing handfuls of ashes of the burnt calves and beanstalks for the purpose of expiation, and leaping over the fires ranged

¹ *Fasti*, vi. 219-234.

² *Fasti*, ii. 27 sq.

³ *Fasti*, iv. 905-942.

⁴ *Fasti*, vi. 395-416.

⁵ *Fasti*, iv. 681-712. However, there is some doubt as to the exact wording of the law, which has suffered much at the hands of modern critics.

three in a row.¹ And when he speaks of the sacred grove of Diana at Nemi, where the long line of votive tablets recorded the gratitude of women to the goddess who had granted their prayers, and where the grim priest prowled sword in hand, he writes of what he had seen with his eyes, for he tells us that he had often drunk of the holy spring which babbled over the pebbles in the hallowed shade.² These and the like personal reminiscences add much to the value of the poet's descriptions by rendering them at once more vivid and more authentic, even if we cannot accept as literally accurate his reports of the shepherd's prayer at the Parilia,³ the priest's solemn address to the goddess Mildew,⁴ and the burst of psalmody which he puts in the mouths of yokels gathered about the deified stock or stone that marked the boundary between their fields.⁵

In the *Fasti* the author follows strictly the chronological order of the calendar, beginning with the first of January and ending with the close of June. Each of the six existing books, into which the poem is divided, is concerned with a single month, from January to June, with which the work stops abruptly. But from incidental references in the poem it is clear that Ovid intended to complete his account of the calendar by continuing it to the end of December, no doubt purposing, in conformity with his plan, to treat of the remaining six months in six separate books. Thus, in speaking of the worship of Augustus under the month of May, the poet checks himself, observing that he must defer the subject till he comes to treat of August, the month which took its name from the deified Emperor.⁶ Again, after a passing mention of the festival of Consus under the month of March, our author intimates that he will discuss it later on at the proper date of the festival,⁷ which might be either the twenty-first of August or the fifteenth of December, for on both these days festivals of Consus were celebrated. Once more, after mentioning Larentia, the nurse of Romulus, under the month of March, the poet adds that the proper place for paying honour to her will come when he shall describe the festival

¹ *Fasti*, iv. 727 sq.

² *Fasti*, iii. 261-274.

³ *Fasti*, iv. 745 sqq.

⁴ *Fasti*, iv. 909 sqq.

⁵ *Fasti*, ii. 657 sqq.

⁶ *Fasti*, v. 147 sq.

⁷ *Fasti*, iii. 199 sq.

of the Larentalia, which fell on the twenty-third of December.¹ These passages appear to prove conclusively Ovid's intention of carrying his survey of the calendar to the end of the year.

Indeed, in a poetical epistle addressed to Augustus from his place of exile in Tomi, the poet expressly affirms, in unambiguous language, that he wrote the *Fasti* in twelve books and dedicated them to Augustus, but that his fate, whereby he doubtless meant his banishment, interrupted the work. His words, which no legerdemain of criticism can distort into any other meaning, are these :

*"Sex ego Fastorum scripsi totidemque libellos,
cumque suo finem mense volumen habet :
idque tuo nuper scriptum sub nomine, Caesar.
et tibi sacratum sors mea rupit opus."*²

If in this passage Ovid uses the periphrasis "six books and as many more" instead of saying simply "twelve," it was for the sound reason that the Latin word for twelve (*duodēcim*) is metrically impossible in an hexameter line. If any doubt could remain on this point, it should be settled by a comparison of parallel passages in the *Fasti*, where, for the same reason, the poet employs the same periphrasis to denote the twelve last days of the month.³ Of the six last books of the *Fasti*, which the poet tells us he wrote, nothing has come down to us, and no mention of them or quotation from them is extant in ancient writers. From the author's own reference to them in the lines just quoted we gather that at the date of his banishment he left the whole work incomplete, and we may suppose that after his death his literary executors found the last six books in too unfinished a state for publication. From many indications in the extant six books it appears that Ovid was revising and to some extent remodelling them down to the date of his death in A.D. 17. Thus, apart from pathetic allusions which they contain to his banishment,⁴ the first book opens with a formal dedication of the whole poem to Germanicus in flat contradiction to the poet's own declaration, just quoted, that he had dedicated the work to Augustus. The necessary inference appears to

¹ *Fasti*, iii. 57 sq.

² *Fasti*, iii. 517, vi. 725.

³ *Tristia*, ii. 549-552.

⁴ *Fasti*, i. 540, iv. 81 sqq., vi. 666.

be, as editors of the *Fasti* have perceived, that after the death of Augustus in A.D. 14 Ovid cancelled the original dedication to Augustus and substituted one to Germanicus in the hope, which proved vain, that the humane and popular prince, touched by the compliment, would recall the author from banishment. For the same reason, we may assume, the poet alludes, perhaps by anticipation, to the triumph of Germanicus for his victories on the Rhine,¹ although, as we have seen, it is doubtful whether the news of the actual triumph could have reached Ovid at Tomi before his death. In any case this allusion to the crowning honour of the favourite prince, on whom he pinned his hope of restoration to his home, must have been one of the last touches put by the artist to his work. It occurs in the first book of the *Fasti*, and there is little evidence that Ovid carried the revision of the poem beyond the end of that book; for in the rest of the poem Augustus, and not Germanicus, is the principal target at which the poet aims the shafts of his probably sincere, but not wholly disinterested, flattery and praise.

But if Ovid thus continued to file and polish the *Fasti* down to the end of his life, we have no direct evidence as to the date when the poem was begun, apart from the author's own important statement, already quoted, that the whole was written by him, at least in the first rough draft, before his banishment in A.D. 7. The only other indications of the time during or after which the writer was engaged in the composition of the *Fasti* are furnished by his allusions to contemporary events, and as in the course of the poem he alludes, as we have seen,² to incidents which occurred in 12 and 2 B.C. and in A.D. 3, we may suppose with a fair degree of probability that Ovid began the composition either in the early years of our era or in the last years of the era which preceded it. No time could have been more appropriate for the writing of a poem dedicated to the honour of Augustus and of Rome. For in these years Rome, enriched and embellished by many splendid monuments and stately palaces, which converted it from a city of brick into a city of marble, with peace at home and triumph abroad, was at the very height of her power and glory: her sun had touched

¹ *Fasti*, i. 285 sq.

² Above, p. ix.

the zenith: the clouds had not yet begun to gather, the thunder to mutter, and the shadows to creep across the fair landscape. Apart from a few passing allusions to his own personal sorrow, which dim here and there for a moment the splendour of the picture, the poem of Ovid reflects the proud and serene confidence of the masters of the world in the stability and permanence of their empire and in the perpetuity of a long line of Caesars yet to come. The gazettes of victory arriving from the Rhine and the Danube contained no warnings of the barbarian storm that was brewing in the North; and while Ovid was inditing the *Fasti*, he could not dream that among the hills of Galilee the Man was already born, who was destined to shake the Roman Empire to its foundations and to lay the whole fabric of ancient civilization in the dust.

§ 2. Editions of the *Fasti*

The present edition of the *Fasti* was planned to form part of the Loeb Classical Library; indeed, the first draft of the text and translation was printed in the form adopted in that series, and a considerable number of notes had been written for it before I found that my comments were likely to overflow even the liberal limits which Mr. Loeb and the editors of the series had allowed me in editing Apollodorus. When this was brought to the notice of Mr. Loeb, he kindly and generously gave me leave to accept the offer of Messrs. Macmillan and Co. to publish my edition of the *Fasti* with the commentary in full, only stipulating that the text and translation should, after a sufficient interval, be issued as a volume of the Loeb Library. To this arrangement Messrs. Macmillan and Co. agreed, and the present edition is the result. It was primarily designed for English readers to whom the many classical allusions in the poem are unfamiliar, and for whom consequently a good deal of explanation, sometimes of an elementary nature, was necessary; but I have endeavoured to consult the needs of scholars also by providing them with a text based on the authority of the best manuscripts, and by citing consistently the sources, ancient and modern, on which I have drawn and to which the reader

may, if he wish, refer in order to verify, correct, or supplement my information.

I have naturally made much use of the labours of my predecessors and desire gratefully to acknowledge my debt to them all. The editions of the *Fasti* which I have consulted are those of Pieter Burman (Amsterdam, 1727, forming part of the third volume of his complete edition of Ovid's works); G. E. Gierig (Leipzig, 1812); Thomas Keightley (First Edition, London, 1839; Second Edition, London, 1848); R. Merkel (Berlin, 1841; Second Teubner edition, Leipzig, 1905); F. A. Paley (London, N.D.); A. Riese (Leipzig, 1874); Hermann Peter (Second Edition, Leipzig, 1879; Third Edition, Leipzig, 1889; Fourth Edition, Leipzig, 1907); G. A. Davies (in J. P. Postgate's *Corpus Poetarum Latinorum*, vol. i. London, 1894); R. Ehwald and Fr. W. Levy (Leipzig, 1924; referred to as Ehwald-Levy). I have also used the separate edition of the Third Book with Introduction and Commentary by Mr. Cyril Bailey (Oxford, 1921). Of these editions the old one of Burman is still the most important and valuable, for it contains entire the learned commentaries of the early editors, above all the commentary of the great scholar Nicolaus Heinsius, who, by collating many manuscripts and correcting many of their errors with the help of his wide knowledge and critical acumen, placed the text of the *Fasti* on a sound basis. Many of his conjectural emendations have been accepted by later editors and are reproduced in the text of the present edition. I have often cited his opinion even when I have not been able to agree with his conclusion.

Of more modern editions the most important for the recension of the text is the critical edition of R. Merkel, published with learned and elaborate Latin prolegomena at Berlin in 1841. It contains a copious selection of various readings drawn partly from the collections of Heinsius, partly from the editor's own examination of manuscripts or from collations made for him by others. The many textual changes which Merkel subsequently made in two editions published in the Teubner series appear to indicate a certain instability of judgement, and his attempts at conjectural emendation are too often marked by a curious

infelicity. When I read the *Fasti* for the first time many years ago, I noted in my copy of Paley's edition some of the variants introduced by Merkel into the first of his Teubner editions; in preparing the present work I have had by me his second Teubner edition and have cited it as Merkel².

Of other editions of the *Fasti* I have got most help from the Latin commentary of Gierig, the English commentary of Paley, and the German commentary of Peter; all three are marked by sound scholarship, good sense, and independence of judgement. Neither Gierig nor Paley examined any manuscripts, but Peter collated several, including the important Munich manuscript, *Codex Mallersdorfiensis*; hence his edition possesses a critical as well as an exegetical value; his text, like his commentary, is generally judicious. The earlier editions of his book contained a valuable appendix or second part in which many critical and exegetical questions were discussed more fully than in the commentary; but in the fourth edition (1907) this appendix is omitted. The principal results of his examination of the manuscripts are contained in his dissertation *De P. Ovidi Nasonis fastis disputatio critica* (Meissen, 1877).

I have consulted no English translation of the *Fasti*, but I have occasionally looked at the French prose version by Th. Burette, revised by M. E. Personneaux (Garnier Frères, Paris, N.D.), and have always found it neat and accurate. It includes the Latin text at the foot of the page.

§ 3. Books consulted

Among the many books I have consulted for the purpose of this edition there are several to which I am under special obligations for the help they have constantly afforded me in the particular subjects with which they deal. First and foremost is the second edition of the first part of the first volume of the great *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, with the valuable commentaries of Theodor Mommsen and Christian Huelsen (Berlin, 1893), which for the sake of brevity I have referred to as *C.I.L.* i.². This part of the first volume contains the whole of the *Fasti Consulares*, *Acta*

Triumphorum, and all the ancient Roman calendars, whether recorded in inscriptions or in manuscripts, which had been discovered down to the date of publication. It is indispensable to the serious student of the *Fasti*, and my numerous references to it will attest the constant use I have made of the volume. For other Latin inscriptions I have depended mainly on the copious and admirable selection contained in H. Dessau's *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae* (Berlin, 1892-1916), which for the ordinary student almost supersedes the cumbrous and not always accessible volumes of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*. For Roman coins of the Republic my principal authority has been E. Babelon's *Monnaies de la République Romaine* (Paris, 1885-1886). On all matters of Roman religion I have constantly consulted the standard work of G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer* (Second Edition, Munich, 1912), which combines a complete mastery of all the ancient authorities with a sobriety of judgement and a clarity and conciseness of exposition which are not always found in union with so much learning. The writings of my learned and genial friend, the late W. Warde Fowler, particularly his *Roman Festivals of the Period of the Republic*, are a storehouse of information and fruitful suggestion on all questions of Roman religion and mythology. If on these questions I have occasionally ventured to differ from him and from Wissowa, it has always been with respect and with the consciousness that on such matters these two eminent scholars may after all be right and I wrong.

For my comments on the astronomical parts of the *Fasti* I am wholly dependent on the essay of the eminent chronologer and astronomer Ludwig Ideler, "Über den astronomischen Theil der *Fasti* des Ovid," *Abhandlungen der histor.-philolog. Klasse der Königl. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin aus den Jahren 1822 und 1823* (Berlin, 1825), and the same author's earlier memoir, *Untersuchungen über den Ursprung und die Bedeutung der Sternnamen* (Berlin, 1809). I can only hope that, in turning into English the German astronomer's exposures of Ovid's many errors concerning the starry heavens, I have not been guilty of fresh blunders, for my ignorance of astronomy is as profound as that of my author appears to have been.

§ 4. *Manuscripts of the Fasti*

Manuscripts of the *Fasti* are very numerous ; more than a hundred of them are known to exist. The British Museum alone possesses fifteen of them, of which the oldest is believed to date from the late twelfth or early thirteenth century.¹ My recension of the text is based mainly on the evidence of the following six manuscripts, of all of which I have obtained and used complete photographs or, in technical language, rotographs, in which the writing appears as white on a black ground. I have designated the manuscripts by the following symbols :

A = The Vatican manuscript No. 1709, known as *Codex Reginensis sive Petavianus*. This is a manuscript of the tenth century, written in the Carolingian script ; it contains the first four books of the *Fasti*, but the last two books are wanting with the exception of the first twenty-four lines of the Fifth Book. It is generally esteemed the oldest of the existing manuscripts of the *Fasti*, and this view is confirmed by the more archaic orthography which it has preserved of certain words compared with that of the other manuscripts. But it is the work of a very careless and ignorant scribe and swarms with gross and palpable blunders, many of which have been corrected by a later hand. Nevertheless in many passages it has preserved the true reading, and for that reason, and on the ground of its antiquity, modern editors have commonly taken it for the basis of the text of the *Fasti*, so far as it goes ; and in agreement with their practice I have as a rule followed the readings of this manuscript in the present edition except in the numerous cases where there are obvious reasons for departing from it. A full and, so far as I have tested it, generally accurate collation of the manuscript was made by H. Keil and published by Riese in his edition (pp. ix-xx).

U = The Vatican manuscript No. 3262 known as *Codex Ursinianus*. This manuscript was written in the eleventh century at Monte Cassino ; it contains the six books of the *Fasti* with the curious exception of the last twelve lines of the Second Book, which are omitted without any sign of a

¹ Letter of Sir Frederic Kenyon, dated British Museum, 7th March 1928.

lacuna. The handwriting is that known as Lombard, one peculiarity of which is that the letters *a* and *t* are written in forms that are almost indistinguishable. The manuscript as a whole is much more correctly written than *A*, but it has to a considerable extent been corrected and even rewritten by two later hands. A careful and accurate, but by no means complete, collation of the manuscript has been published by Mr. Gordon J. Laing,¹ who distinguishes the readings of the three different hands. He writes (pp. 214, 215): "It (the manuscript) has been corrected by a second and a third hand. The second is not much later than the first, while the third belongs to the fifteenth century. Besides making numerous corrections, this third hand has in the case of many words, lines, and even passages of some length, traced over the faded writing of the first hand, without always reproducing faithfully the text beneath. . . . It is the tracing hand of the fifteenth century that more than anything else has led to confusion and error in representing the readings of the manuscript, the upper writing frequently passing for the original in passages where on close examination quite a different reading is found underneath. The large number of passages in which the under writing agrees with the best tradition tends to strengthen the claims of the manuscript to a higher valuation."

D = The Munich manuscript, Lat. No. 8122 of the Royal Library at Munich, known as *Codex Mallerstorfiensis sive Monacensis*. This is a manuscript of the twelfth or, according to Halm, of the thirteenth century; it contains the six books except that the first seventy lines of the first book are wanting. The manuscript abounds in abbreviations, which often create a difficulty; for the scribe uses the same abbreviation in different senses, so that in many cases the meaning can only be inferred by comparison with other manuscripts in which the word is written in full. In a sense the manuscript is eccentric inasmuch as it often presents readings which appear to be found in no other codex. It was collated fully

¹ Gordon J. Laing, "The three principal manuscripts of the *Fasti* of Ovid, Reginensis 1709 (or Petavianus), Vaticanus 3262 (or Ursinianus), and Monacensis 8122 (or Mallerstorfiensis N. 2)," *American Journal of Archaeology*, Second Series, vol. iii. (1899, Norwood, Mass.), pp. 212-228.

and on the whole (so far as I have tested it) accurately by R. Merkel for his edition of 1841; it was afterwards collated again by H. Peter and R. Ehwald.

X = The Brussels manuscript, *Codex Bruxellensis*, No. 5369, in the Royal Library at Brussels. It was brought to Brussels from the abbey of Gembloux at the time of the French Revolution in 1794. This manuscript has been assigned to the eleventh century, and Mr. E. H. Alton, who has examined it, sees no reason to dissent from that opinion.¹ But Professor M. A. Kugener of the University of Brussels, who first called my attention to the manuscript and has studied it carefully, would assign it to the end of the tenth or the beginning of the eleventh century.² The writing is round minuscule, large, bold, and clear, with comparatively few abbreviations. The first 504 verses of the First Book are wanting in the manuscript, but with the exception of a few lines (v. 365-366 and the doubtful lines vi. 271-276, 739-740) the rest of the poem is contained in it entire. I collated many of the readings at Brussels (24-29th January 1928), when M. Camille Gaspar, the Keeper of the Manuscripts in the Royal Library, courteously gave me every facility for my work, in which I had also the kind assistance of Dr. Félix Peeters, who has made a special study of the manuscript and is preparing to publish a dissertation on it. With regard to the handwriting of the manuscript Dr. Peeters observes: "L'écriture est une belle minuscule caroline de la première époque (IX-X^e siècles); elle se ressent certainement de l'influence de l'école de transcription d'Aix-la-Chapelle et de celle de Tours étudiée par L. Delisle (*Mémoire sur l'école de Tours*)."

Mr. Alton would identify this Brussels manuscript with the *Codex Zulichemianus*, a manuscript long supposed to be lost, a collation of which was made by an unknown scholar and entered in an interleaved copy of the Aldine edition. The volume, which is now in the University Library at Leyden, was seen by Heinsius in the house of Constantine

¹ E. H. Alton, "The *Zulichemianus*, *Masarinianus*, and other mss. of the *Fasti* of Ovid," *Hermathena*, No. xlv (Dublin and London, 1926), p. 102.

² Letter to me dated Woluwe St. Pierre, 52 avenue Parmentier, 7 avril 1928.

Huygens van Zulichem in 1657. He esteemed highly the readings of the unknown manuscript, which he called the *Codex Zulichemianus*, and through him these readings have been known to later editors. Merkel designates them by the symbol *Z*, and Ehwald-Levy by the symbol *G*.¹ There is no doubt that the reported readings of the *Codex Zulichemianus* agree to a great extent with those actually found in the Brussels manuscript (*X*), and Mr. Alton may be right in identifying them. But on the other hand the reported readings of the *Codex Zulichemianus* (Merkel's *Z*, Ehwald-Levy's *G*) not infrequently differ from the actual readings of the Brussels manuscript (*X*). Without making a careful search for them I have noted the following discrepancies between the two: *Fasti*, ii. 472, cernis sidera nomen *Z*; dignum sidera munus *X*. ii. 485, in caerulea caeli *Z*; in sidera caeli *X*. ii. 499, Proculus *Z*; procul a *X*. ii. 501, nubes crevere *Z*; sepes tremuere *X* (*in erasure*). ii. 621, genere *Z* (*G* Ehwald-Levy); sanguine *X*. ii. 634, lares *Z*; cibos *X*. ii. 635, ultima *Z*; humida *X*. ii. 741, nebat *Z*; cuius *X*. iii. 66, paucis *Z*; parvis *X*. iii. 266, initur *Z*; aditur *X*. iii. 347, motum *Z*; moto *X*. iii. 387, ducunt *Z*; dicta *X*. iv. 546, teneris . . . favis *Z*; caeris . . . suis *X*. If the readings of the *Codex Zulichemianus* have been correctly reported, it is difficult to see how these divergencies (which a little search might perhaps multiply) from the readings of the Brussels manuscript (*X*) are to be reconciled with the theory of the identity of the two manuscripts. However, the question is not important. In any case the Brussels manuscript is one of our oldest and best authorities for the text of the *Fasti*, and has preserved the true reading in many places where other manuscripts have lost it.² A special relation appears

¹ As to the *Codex Zulichemianus* see R. Merkel, P. Ovidii Nasonis *Fastorum libri sex* (Berolini, 1841), pp. cclxxxv sqq.; H. Peter, *De P. Ovidi Nasonis fastis disputatio critica* (Meissen, 1877), pp. 5, 16; Fr. Krüger, *De Ovidi fastis recensendis* (Schwerin, 1887), pp. 16 sqq.; Ehwald-Levy, *Fastorum libri sex* (Lipsiae, 1924), p. xvi; E. H. Alton, "The *Zulichemianus*, *Mazarinianus*, and other MSS. of the *Fasti* of Ovid," *Hermathena*, No. xlv (1926), pp. 101 sqq.

² For examples see *Fasti*, ii. 231 (laurentibus), 276 (cillene = cyllene), 398 (quem in vobis), 472 (dignum sidera munus); iii. 146 (Perenna), 316 (tela), 419 (quem), 500 (me laudant), 557 (nudandas), 594 (a votis is quoque), 643 (humili . . . arva); iv. 83 (ego tam longe), 108 (sui), 141 (rorantes nuda), 659 (veste rudi), 897 (sordidus); v. 162 (a calabris), 708 (nomen Aphidna).

to exist between it and the Oxford manuscript (*m*); for not only do the readings of the two manuscripts often agree, but in both of them the same long passage (vi. 33-294) has suffered a curious displacement of several hundred lines. The Brussels manuscript has a number of notes written in the margin, which contain excerpts from ancient authors, such as Gellius, Valerius Maximus, Servius, Hyginus, and Macrobius. These have been edited and their ancient authorities identified by Mr. E. H. Alton.¹

M = The Paris manuscript, *Codex Gallicus Mazarinianus*, No. 7992, in the National Library at Paris. It is a manuscript of the fifteenth or sixteenth century and contains the whole of the six books beautifully written in a large clear Italian hand, as plain as print, with few abbreviations, very few erasures, and no corrections by a later hand. The variants written in the margin or between the lines appear to be all in the handwriting of the original scribe: I inspected the manuscript and noted some of its readings at Paris (2nd February 1928); but my full collation of it has been made from the photograph. The reputation of this manuscript seems not to stand high, perhaps on account of its late date, but I have found it excellent, generally in agreement with the best tradition and possessing the rare merit of being almost everywhere perfectly legible. In his critical edition of 1841 Merkel cites this manuscript under the symbol *g*, but he seems to have known little or nothing about it; there are no such lacunas in it as he speaks of.

m = The Oxford manuscript, *Codex Oxoniensis sive Mazarinianus*, Auct. F. 4. 25, in the Bodleian Library. It contains the whole of the six books. Of this manuscript Mr. E. H. Alton says: "At first sight there is nothing prepossessing about this paper manuscript. It belongs to the early fifteenth century, and it has been outrageously defaced by a later, perhaps sixteenth century, corrector. Heinsius, I am sorry to say, has not made the collator's task

¹ E. H. Alton, "The mediaeval commentaries on Ovid's *Fasti*," *Hermathena*, No. xlv (1926), pp. 128-151.

any easier by annoting, underlining, and adding the variants from the third Aldine and two other manuscripts, as well as the 'excerpta Zulichemiana.' . . . But if we discount the faults and orthographical eccentricities of the copyist, an examination of *m* will incline one to a strong opinion that we have in this manuscript a copy of a comparatively early (possibly ninth or tenth century) minuscule original."¹ In reporting the readings of this manuscript I have not attempted to distinguish the variants added by Heinsius from the variants inserted by the copyist or copyists in the margin or between the lines; all such variants I designate by the symbol *m*², as opposed to the readings in the text, which I designate by the symbol *m*¹, even in some cases where the original reading has been tampered with by a later hand. As the variants recorded by Heinsius or another in this manuscript are very numerous, the attentive reader should not be surprised to find in my critical notes the symbol *m*² sometimes attached to more than one variant on a single original reading; such variants only mean that in these passages the scribe or scribes have offered us in the margin or between the lines more than one alternative for the reading in the text.

On the evidence of these six manuscripts, or rather of my photographs of them, I have based my recension of the text, and only on rare occasions have I been obliged to go outside of them to discover what seems to be the true reading in other manuscripts or in the conjectures of scholars. My reports of the readings of all six manuscripts are derived, except in a few cases where I cite my authorities, from my own inspection of the photographs and not from the reports of my predecessors; hence I alone am responsible for their accuracy and for any errors or omissions in them. I have attempted to give fairly full collations of all six manuscripts; if I have omitted to note any important variant in them, it has been through an oversight, for which I take all the blame. But to prevent misunderstandings I would observe that in not a few cases my silence as to a reading, whether of the first or of a later hand, is due not to

¹ E. H. Alton, "The *Zulichemianus*, *Mazarinianus*, and other MSS. of the *Fasti* of Ovid," *Hermathena*, No. xlv (1926), p. 105.

negligence, but to simple inability to decipher it, the reading having been either completely erased, or faded past recognition, or indicated by an ambiguous abbreviation, or so tampered with by later scribes that it is impossible to say with any approach to certainty what was either the first or the last reading of the word or words. Where, for any of these reasons, the reading is extremely uncertain I have abstained from guessing at it; where the reading is only doubtful, I have given what seems to me the most probable reading, followed by a mark of interrogation. In cases of doubt I have sometimes consulted the collations of my predecessors, particularly Keil's collation of *A*, Laing's collation of *U*, and Merkel's collation of *D*, and have got help from them all. In regard to *U* I have not, like Mr. Laing, attempted to discriminate between the three hands which he distinguishes at work on the manuscript, though I believe that he is certainly right in so distinguishing them; I have contented myself with denoting the original readings as *U*¹ and all later readings as *U*². If my readings should be found to differ from Mr. Laing's (I have not compared them throughout), it is probable that Mr. Laing's readings are to be preferred, since he enjoyed the great advantage over me of collating the manuscript itself; for in a close inspection of a manuscript much may doubtless be detected which escapes the eye in a photograph.

Besides these six manuscripts I have sometimes referred to the readings of a few others, for a knowledge of which I am dependent chiefly on the collections of Merkel in his large critical edition of 1841, whose notation of them I follow. They are as follows:

F = The Cambridge manuscript, No. 280, in the library of Pembroke College, Cambridge. It was collated by Heinsius. I inspected it at Cambridge and have obtained, by the kind permission of the librarian, Mr. Attwater, a complete photograph of the manuscript, but to my regret circumstances have prevented me from making any use of it. I shall hope to publish a complete or partial collation of it hereafter. The manuscript is in vellum, and came to Pembroke College from Dover Priory; according to Dr. M. R. James, it dates from the twelfth century, and the

writing closely resembles that of Christ Church, Canterbury.¹ It is a small volume written in a Gothic hand with many interlinear and marginal notes.

G=A manuscript at Göttingen thought by Schneidewin to be not later than the twelfth century. Heinsius judged it to be older, but of little value. Merkel used a collation of it made for him by W. Müller and E. von Leutsch, and found a few good readings in it.

B=A manuscript at Leyden, *Codex Vossianus sive Arundelianus*, of the thirteenth century. It contains all six books. Heinsius assigned it to the tenth century. It has been collated by H. Peter and R. Ehwald.

C=The collation of a lost manuscript (*Codex Vossianus*) inserted by Isaac Voss in an edition of the *Fasti* published at Amsterdam in 1630. The volume is in the library at Leyden. H. Peter examined it and made a copy of Voss's collation.²

My references to other manuscripts, designated by the general symbol *τ*, are derived from Merkel's edition of 1841 and Ehwald-Levy's edition of 1924.

When my work on the *Fasti* is done, I propose to offer all my photographs of the manuscripts to Trinity College, Cambridge, in the hope that the College will place them in its noble library, where they might facilitate the labours of future editors of the *Fasti*, who would thus be able incidentally to correct any mistakes into which I may have fallen in my use of the photographs.

The indices to the Translation and the Commentary have been compiled by Mr. A. J. W. Walker, of New College, Oxford. I thank him for the care and diligence with which he has performed his laborious task.

A commentator on a classical author is often confronted by problems which cannot be solved by the evidence of

¹ M. R. James, *Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Library of Pembroke College* (Cambridge, 1905), p. 255.

² H. Peter, *De P. Ovidi Nasonis fastis disputatio critica* (Meissen, 1877), p. 5.

classical antiquity alone, and he is compelled to seek more or less probable solutions in the survey of a wider field by comparing the beliefs, customs, and institutions of the classical peoples with those of other peoples in other ages and in other parts of the world. In earlier works I have essayed to throw the light of the Comparative Method on ancient Greece and ancient Israel. I have now attempted to do the same for ancient Rome. It will be for others to judge whether I have succeeded; for myself I shall be content if, with all its shortcomings, my book should be deemed not wholly unworthy of the great Roman antiquary to whose memory it is dedicated, and of the great College which has supported me in my studies for many years, and to which it is the pride of my life to belong.

J. G. FRAZER.

31st May 1929.

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FASTORUM LIBER PRIMUS

FASTORUM LIBER PRIMUS

- Tempora cum causis Latium digesta per annum
lapsaque sub terras ortaue signa canam.
excipe pacato, Caesar Germanice, voltu
hoc opus et timidæ dirige navis iter ;
5 officioque, levem non aversatus honorem,
en tibi devoto numine dexter ades.
sacra recognoscas annalibus eruta priscis,
et quo sit merito quæque notata dies.
invenies illic et festa domestica vobis :
10 sæpe tibi pater est, sæpe legendus avus ;
quæque ferunt illi pictos signantia fastos,
tu quoque cum Druso præmia fratre feres.
Caesaris arma canant alii : nos Caesaris aras,
et quoscumque sacris addidit ille dies .
15 adnue conanti per laudes ire tuorum,
deque meo pavidos excute corde metus.
da mihi te placidum, dederis in carmina viris :
ingenium voltu statque caditque tuo.
pagina iudicium docti subitura movetur
20 principis, ut Clario missa legenda deo.
quæ sit enim culti facundia sensimus oris,
civica pro trepidis cum tulit arma reis ;
scimus et, ad nostras cum se tulit impetus artes,
ingenii currant flumina quanta tui.
25 si licet et fas est, vates rege vatis habenas,
auspice te felix totus ut annus eat.

3. voltu *A*(corrected): vultu *UMm*. The older forms *voltus*, *volnus*, *volgus* etc. are usually, though not always, preserved in *A*, but not in the other MSS. With Merkel and Ehwald-Levy I have accepted them throughout.

4. dirige *AUMm*: derige *Vollmer*, *Ehwald-Levy*.

5. officioque *AMm*: officiique *U^s*. aversatus *AM*: adversatus *Um*.

6. en *AP*(under an erasure)*Um^s*: huic *A^sMm¹*: in *Heinsius*. numine *AMm¹*: munere *Um^sBS*. *Heinsius*, followed by *Gierig*, would read in tibi devoto munere and in line 5 officiique, which gives good sense. With munere *Heinsius* compares munere in the parallel passage ii. 17.

OVID'S FASTI—BOOK I

THE order of the calendar throughout the Latin year, its causes, and the starry signs that set beneath the earth and rise again, of these I'll sing. Caesar Germanicus, accept with brow serene this work and steer the passage of my timid bark. Spurn not the honour slight, but come propitious as a god to take the homage vowed to thee. Here shalt thou read afresh of holy rites unearthed from annals old, and learn how every day has earned its own peculiar mark. There too shalt thou find the festivals pertaining to thy house ; often the names of thy sire and grandsire will meet thee on the page. The laurels that are theirs and that adorn the painted calendar, thou too shalt win in company with thy brother Drusus. Let others sing of Caesar's wars ; my theme be Caesar's altars and the days he added to the sacred roll. Approve my effort to rehearse the praises of thy kin, and cast out quaking terrors from my heart. Show thyself mild to me ; so shalt thou lend vigour to my song ; at thy look my Muse must stand or fall. Submitted to the judgement of a learned prince my page doth shiver, even as if sent to the Clarian god to read. On thy accomplished lips what eloquence attends, we have seen, when it took civic arms in defence of trembling prisoners at the bar. And when to poetry thy fancy turns, we know how broad the current of thy genius flows. If it is right and lawful, guide a poet's reins, thyself a poet, that under thy auspices the year may run its happy course entire.

9. festa *AUMm* : sacra *three S*.

11. pictos signantia fastos *AMm* : festos signantia fastus *U*.

14. dies *AUMm* : deos *M*.

17. dederisque *m*. carmina *AUMm* : carmine *B*.

23. sc *AUMm* and apparently most MSS. : te one inferior *MS.* (corrected).

25. si licet et *AM* : si licet ut *S* : scilicet et *UmS*.

26. auspice te *MmB* : aspicio et *A* : auspicio *mS* : auxiliante *U*.

- tempora digereret cum conditor urbis, in anno
constituit menses quinque bis esse suo.
scilicet arma magis quam sidera, Romule, noras,
30 curaque finitimos vincere maior erat.
est tamen et ratio, Cacsar, quae moverit illum,
erroremque suum quo tueatur, habet.
quod satis est, utero matris dum prodeat infans,
hoc anno statuit temporis esse satis.
35 per totidem menses a funere coniugis uxor
sustinet in vidua tristia signa domo.
haec igitur vidit trabeati cura Quirini,
cum rudibus populis annua iura daret.
Martis erat primus mensis, Venerisque secundus :
40 haec generis princeps, ipsius ille pater.
tertius a senibus, iuvenum de nomine quartus,
quae sequitur, numero turba notata fuit.
at Numa nec Ianum nec avitas praeterit umbras,
mensibus antiquis praeposuitque duos.
45 ne tamen ignores variorum iura dierum,
non habet officii Lucifer omnis idem.
ille nefastus erit, per quem tria verba silentur :
fastus erit, per quem lege licebit agi.
nec toto perstare die sua iura putaris :
50 qui iam fastus erit, mane nefastus erat ;
nam simul exta deo data sunt, licet omnia fari,
verbaque honoratus libera praetor habet.
est quoque, quo populum ius est includere saeptis :
est quoque, qui nono semper ab orbe redit.
55 vindicat Ausonias Iunonis cura Kalendas,
Idibus alba Iovi grandior agna cadit ;
Nonarum tutela deo caret. omnibus istis
(ne fallare cave !) proximus ater erit.
omen ab eventu est, illis nam Roma diebus
60 damna sub averso tristia Marte tulit.

27. anno *AMm* : annum *U*s.28. suo *AMm* : suos *U*.29. noras *AUMm*¹ : nosti *m*¹.37. haec *AUMm*¹*m* : hoc *M*¹*s*.46. officii *As* : officium *UMm*¹*s*.48. lege *Um* : iure *AM*.49. nec *AUMm* : neu *M*¹.toto *AUMm* : toti *O. Kreussler*

When the founder of the city was setting the calendar in order, he ordained that there should be twice five months in his year. To be sure, Romulus, thou wert better versed in swords than stars, and to conquer thy neighbours was thy main concern. Yet, Caesar, there is a reason that may have moved him, and for his error he might urge a plea. The time that suffices for a child to come forth from its mother's womb, he deemed sufficient for a year. For just so many months after her husband's funeral a wife supports the signs of sorrow in her widowed home. These things, then, Quirinus in his striped gown had in view, when to the simple folk he gave his laws to regulate the year. The month of Mars was the first, and that of Venus the second; she was the author of the race, and he his sire. The third month took its name from the old, and the fourth from the young; the months that trooped after were distinguished by numbers. But Numa overlooked not Janus and the ancestral shades, and so to the ancient months he prefixed two.

But that you may not be unversed in the rules of the different days, not every morning brings the same round of duty. That day is unlawful on which the three words may not be spoken; that day is lawful on which the courts of law are open. But you must not suppose that every day keeps its rules throughout its whole length: a lawful day may have been unlawful in the morning; for as soon as the inwards have been offered to the god, all words may lawfully be spoken, and the honoured praetor enjoys free speech. There are days, too, on which the people may lawfully be penned in the polling-booths; there are also days that come round ever in a cycle of nine. The worship of Juno claims Ausonia's Calends: on the Ides a bigger white ewe-lamb falls to Jupiter: the Nones lack a guardian god. The day next after all these days—make no mistake—is black. The omen is drawn from the event; for on those days Rome suffered grievous losses under the

(Observationes in Ovidii Fastos, p. 2), *Riese, Davies*; but compare *Fast. iii.* 137.

54. nono *AUMm*: nonus *O. Kreussler* (*Observationes*, p. 3).

58. fallare cave *AMm*: fallare dies *U5*.

60. averso *As*: adverso *UMm*.

haec mihi dicta semel, totis haerentia fastis,
ne seriem rerum scindere cogar, erunt.

- Ecce tibi faustum, Germanice, nuntiat annum
inque meo primus carmine Ianus adest.
- 65 Iane biceps, anni tacite labentis origo,
solus de superis qui tua terga vides,
dexter ades ducibus, quorum securo labore
otia terra ferax, otia pontus habet :
dexter ades patribusque tuis populoque Quirini,
70 et resera nutu candida templa tuo.
prospera lux oritur : linguis animisque favete !
nunc dicenda bona sunt bona verba die.
lite vacent aures, insanaque protinus absint
iurgia ; differ opus, livida lingua, tuum !
- 75 cernis, odoratis ut luceat ignibus aether,
et sonet accensis spica Cilissa focus ?
flamma nitore suo templorum verberat aurum
et tremulum summa spargit in aede iubar.
vestibus intactis Tarpeias itur in arces,
80 et populus festo concolor ipse suo est,
iamque novi praeceunt fasces, nova purpura fulget,
et nova conspicuum pondera sentit ebur.
colla rudes operum praebent ferienda iuvenci,
quos aluit campis herba Falisca suis.
- 85 Iuppiter arce sua totum cum spectat in orbem,
nil nisi Romanum, quod tueatur, habet.
salve, laeta dies, meliorque revertere semper,
a populo rerum digna potente coli.
quem tamen esse deum te dicam, Iane biformis ?
90 nam tibi par nullum Graecia numen habet.
ede simul causam, cur de caelestibus unus,
sitque quod a tergo, sitque quod ante, vides ?
haec ego cum sumptis agitare mente tabellis,
lucidior visa est, quam fuit ante, domus.

62. scindere *AMm* : condere *U* (in erasure).

64. primus *UMm* : primum *A* and many *5*.

68. habet *AUMm* : agit *M⁵5*.

71. prospera *ADMm* : postera *U*. linguis animisque *ADM* : linguisque animisque *Um*.

72. bona sunt *AUMm³* and apparently most *MSS.* : bono sunt *Dm⁵5*.

74. livida lingua *Um³BC* : livida turba *ADMm¹* and apparently most *MSS.*

frown of Mars. These remarks apply to the whole calendar ; I have made them once for all, that I may not be forced to break the thread of my discourse.

KAL. IAN. 1st.

See Janus comes, Germanicus, the herald of a lucky year to thee, and in my song takes precedence Two-⁵ headed Janus, opener of the softly gliding year, thou who alone of the celestials dost behold thy back, O come propitious to the chiefs whose toil ensures peace to the fruitful earth, peace to the sea. And come propitious to thy senators and to the people of Quirinus, and by thy nod unbar the¹⁰ temples white. A happy morning dawns. Fair speech, fair thoughts I crave! Now must good words be spoken on a good day. Let ears be rid of suits, and banish mad disputes forthwith! Thou rancorous tongue, adjourn thy wagging! Dost mark how the sky sparkles with fragrant fires,¹⁵ and how Cilician saffron crackles on the kindled hearths? The flame with its own splendour beats upon the temples' gold and spreads a flickering radiance on the hallowed roof. In spotless garments the procession wends to the Tarpeian towers: the people wear the colour of the festal day; and²⁰ now new rods of office lead the way, new purple gleams, and a new weight is felt by the far-seen ivory chair. Heifers, unbroken to the yoke, offer their necks to the axe, heifers that cropped the sward on the true Faliscan plains. When from his citadel Jupiter looks abroad on the whole globe,²⁵ naught but the Roman empire meets his eye. Hail, happy day! and evermore return still happier, day worthy to be kept holy by a people the masters of the world.

But what god am I to say thou art, Janus of double shape? for Greece hath no divinity like thee. The reason,³⁰ too, unfold why alone of all the heavenly ones thou dost see both back and front. While thus I mused, the tablets in my hand, methought the house grew brighter than it was

76. Cilissa *AUMm*²: falisca *Dm*¹

83. ferienda iuveni *UMm*: ferienda securi *AD* and many *5*.

85. totum cum spectet *UMm*: totum conspectet *A*: cum totum spectat *D*.

87. laeta *AUMm*²: festa *DMm*¹.

89. te dicam *AUD*: dicam te *Mm*.

90. numen *UDMm*: nomen *A*.

- 95 tunc sacer ancipiti mirandus imagine Ianus
 bina repens oculis obtulit ora meis.
 extimui sensique metu riguisse capillos,
 et gelidum subito frigore pectus erat.
 ille tenens baculum dextra clavemque sinistra
 100 edidit hos nobis ore priore sonos :
 " disce metu posito, vates operose dierum,
 quod petis, et voces percipe mente meas.
 me Chaos antiqui (nam sum res prisca) vocabant :
 aspice, quam longi temporis acta canam.
 105 lucidus hic aer et quae tria corpora restant,
 ignis, aqua et tellus, unus acervus erat.
 ut semel haec rerum secessit lite suarum
 inque novas abiit massa soluta domos,
 flamma petiit altum, propior locus aëra cepit,
 110 sederunt medio terra fretumque solo.
 tunc ego, qui fueram globus et sine imagine moles,
 in faciem redii dignaque membra deo.
 nunc quoque, confusae quondam nota parva figurae,
 ante quod est in me postque, videtur idem.
 115 accipe, quaesitae quae causa sit altera formae,
 hanc simul ut noris officiumque meum.
 quicquid ubique vides, caelum, mare, nubila, terras,
 omnia sunt nostra clausa patentque manu.
 me penes est unum vasti custodia mundi,
 120 et ius vertendi cardinis omne meum est.
 cum libuit Pacem placidis emittere tectis,
 libera perpetuas ambulat illa vias :
 sanguine letifero totus miscebitur orbis,
 ni teneant rigidae condita bella serae.
 125 praesideo foribus caeli cum mitibus Horis :
 it, redit officio Iuppiter ipse meo.
 inde vocor Ianus. cui cum Ceriale sacerdos
 imponit libum mixtaque farra sale,

95. tunc *AS* : tum *UDMm*.

96. repens *ADM* : repente *Um*.

97. extimui *AMm*³ : obstupui *Um*¹.

99. baculum dextra *ADM* : dextra baculum *Um*⁵.

104. aspice *AUDMm* : adspice *Ehwald-Levy*.

106. aqua et *UDMm* : aquae *A*(corrected) : aquae a few *S*.
 erant *UDMm*.

erat *A* :

before. Then of a sudden sacred Janus, in his two-headed shape, offered his double visage to my wondering eyes. A terror seized me, I felt my hair stiffen with fear, and with a sudden chill my bosom froze. He, holding in his right hand his staff and in his left the key, to me these accents uttered 5 from his front mouth: "Dismiss thy fear, thy answer take, laborious singer of the days, and mark my words. The ancients called me Chaos, for a being from of old am I; observe the long, long ages of which my song shall tell. Yon lucid air and the three other bodies, fire, water, earth, 10 were huddled all in one. When once, through the discord of its elements, the mass parted, dissolved, and went in diverse ways to seek new homes, flame sought the height, air filled the nearer space, while earth and sea sank in the middle deep. 'Twas then that I, till that time a mere ball, 15 a shapeless lump, assumed the face and members of a god. And even now, small index of my erst chaotic state, my front and back look just the same. Now hear the other reason for the shape you ask about, that you may know it and my office too. Whate'er you see anywhere—sky, sea, 20 clouds, earth—all things are closed and opened by my hand. The guardianship of this vast universe is in my hands alone, and none but me may rule the wheeling pole. When I choose to send forth peace from tranquil halls, she freely walks the ways unhindered. But with blood and slaughter 25 the whole world would welter, did not the bars unbending hold the barricaded wars. I sit at heaven's gate with the gentle Hours; my office regulates the goings and the comings of Jupiter himself. Hence Janus is my name; but when the priest offers me a barley cake and spelt mingled 30

109. *flamma petit altum AU¹: altum flamma petit DM¹m: caelum (for altum) U¹M¹.*

110. *solo AU¹m¹: loco U¹DM¹m¹.*

112. *dignaque membra AUDM¹m: membraque digna S.*

113. *quondam Um¹: quoniam AM and many S.*

121. *tectis AUD¹Mm: dictis D¹.*

122. *perpetuas AD¹z¹m¹: per tutas Um¹. illa AUDM¹m¹: ista m¹*

123. *letifero AUDM¹m¹: lucifero m¹: lucifero Zielinski.*

125. *foribus caeli AUMm: caeli foribus D.*

126. *it redit DC¹: et redit AUMm¹S.*

127. *ceriale A: cereale UDMm.*

128. *mixtaque farra AUm: farraque mixta DM.*

- nomina ridebis ; modo namque Patulcius idem
 130 et modo sacrifico Clusius ore vocor.
 scilicet alterno voluit rudis illa vetustas
 nomine diversas significare vices.
 vis mea narrata est. causam nunc disce figurae :
 iam tamen hanc aliqua tu quoque parte vides.
 135 omnis habet geminas, hinc atque hinc, ianua frontis,
 e quibus haec populum spectat, at illa larem ;
 utque sedens primi vester prope limina tecti
 ianitor egressus introitusque videt,
 sic ego perspicio caelestis ianitor aulae
 140 Eoas partes Hesperiasque simul.
 ora vides Hecates in tres vertentia partes,
 servet ut in ternas compita secta vias ;
 et mihi, ne flexu cervicis tempora perdam,
 cernere non moto corpore bina licet.”
 145 dixerat et voltu, si plura requirere vellem,
 difficilem mihi se non fore fassus erat.
 sumpsi animum gratesque deo non territus egi
 verbaque sum spectans pauca locutus humum :
 “ dic, age, frigoribus quare novus incipit annus,
 150 qui melius per ver incipiendus erat ?
 omnia tunc florent, tunc est nova temporis aetas,
 et nova de gravido palmite gemma tumet,
 et modo formatis operitur frondibus arbor,
 prodit et in summum seminis herba solum,
 155 et tepidum volucres concentibus aëra mulcent,
 ludit et in pratis luxuriatque pecus.
 tum blandi soles, ignotaque prodit hirundo
 et luteum celsa sub trabe figit opus :
 tum patitur cultus ager et renovatur aratro.
 160 haec anni novitas iure vocanda fuit.”
 quaesieram multis : non multis ille moratus
 contulit in versus sic sua verba duos :

130. clusius *AUD* : clausius *Mm*.131. alterno *UDMm* : aeterno *A*.132. diversas *UDMm* : diverso *A*.137. primi vester *AUDm* : vester primi *M*.139. perspicio *AUDMm*² : prospicio *m*¹.141. vertentia *ADM* : vergentia *UBC*⁵.144. bina *AUDMm*¹ : plura *M*².146. difficilem mihi se *AUDm* : se mihi difficilem *M*.fassus *Um*⁵ :pactus *ADMm*².

with salt, you would laugh to hear the names he gives me, for on his sacrificial lips I'm now Patulcius and now Clusius called. Thus rude antiquity made shift to mark my changing functions with the change of name. My business I have told. Now learn the reason of my shape, though already you ⁵ perceive it in part. Every door has two fronts, this way and that, whereof one faces the people and the other the house-god; and just as your human porter, seated at the threshold of the house-door, sees who goes out and in, so I, the porter of the heavenly court, behold at once both East ¹⁰ and West. Thou seest Hecate's faces turned in three directions that she may guard the crossroads where they branch three several ways; and lest I should lose time by twisting my neck, I am free to look both ways without budging."

Thus spake the god, and by a look confessed that, were ¹⁵ I fain to ask him more, he would not grudge reply. I plucked up courage, thanked the god composedly, and with eyes turned to the ground I spoke in few: "Come, say, why doth the new year begin in the cold season? Better had it ²⁰ begun in spring. Then all things flower, then time renews his age, and new from out the teeming vine-shoot swells the bud; in fresh-formed leaves the tree is draped, and from earth's surface sprouts the blade of corn. Birds with their warblings winnow the warm air; the cattle frisk and wanton ²⁵ in the meads. Then suns are sweet, forth comes the stranger swallow and builds her clayey structure under the lofty beam. Then the field submits to tillage and is renewed by the plough. That is the season which rightly should have been called New Year."

Thus questioned I at length; he answered prompt and ³⁰ tersely, throwing his words into twain verses, thus: "Mid-

148. sum spectans *UMm*: suspectans *A*: despectans *D*. pauca *AUDMm*: pacta *Merkel*⁸ (conjecture): plura *Ehwald, Davies*: larga or tarda *Riese*.

152. tumet *AUDMm*⁸: amicitur vitibus *m*¹.

153. operitur frondibus *AUDMm*⁸: amicitur vitibus *m*¹.
157. tum *ADs*: tunc *Um* and many *s*. ignotaque *AUDMm*: arguta-
que *Fr. Harder*.

158. figit *UDm*: figit *A*: fingit *M*.

159. tum *ADMs*: tunc *Um* and many *s*.

160. anni *UDMm*: anno *A*.

161. multis *AUDMm*: paucis *E. H. Alton* (Classical Review, xxxii. (1918) p. 13).

- " bruma novi prima est veterisque novissima solis :
 principium capiunt Phoebus et annus idem."
 165 post ea mirabar, cur non sine litibus esset
 prima dies. " causam percipe " Ianus ait
 " tempora commisi nascentia rebus agendis,
 totus ab auspicio ne foret annus iners.
 quisque suas artes ob idem delibat agendo
 170 nec plus quam solitum testificatur opus."
 mox ego, " cur, quamvis aliorum numina placem,
 Iane, tibi primum tura merumque fero ? "
 " ut possis aditum per me, qui limina servo,
 ad quoscumque voles " inquit " habere deos."
 175 " at cur laeta tuis dicuntur verba Kalendis,
 et damus alternas accipimusque preces ? "
 tum deus incumbens baculo, quem dextra gerebat,
 " omina principii " inquit " inesse solent.
 ad primam vocem timidas advertitis aures,
 180 et visam primum consulit augur avem.
 templa patent auresque deum, nec lingua caducas
 concipit ulla preces, dictaque pondus habent."
 desierat Ianus. nec longa silentia feci,
 sed tetigi verbis ultima verba meis :
 185 " quid volt palma sibi rugosaeque carica " dixi
 " et data sub niveo candida mella cado ? "
 " omen " ait " causa est, ut res sapor ille sequatur,
 et peragat coeptum dulcis ut annus iter."
 " dulcia cur dentur, video. stipis adice causam,
 190 pars mihi de festo ne labet ulla tuo."
 risit et " o quam te fallunt tua saecula," dixit
 " qui stipe mel sumpta dulcius esse putes !
 vix ego Saturno quemquam regnante videbam,
 cuius non animo dulcia lucra forent.

165. post haec scitabar Bentley.

168. ab UDMm : ut A.

169. ob idem U²DMm : ibidem AU²S : obiter one 5 (preferred by Burmann) : obit et Heinsius.

170. nec UDMm : ne A.

172. primum ADMm² : primo Um¹.

174. velim prorsus (for voles inquit) U² (preferred by Heinsius).

176. accipimusque AUMm : expetimusque D.

177. gerebat AMm¹ : tenebat UDM².

179. advertitis AUDMm¹ : advertimus m².

winter is the beginning of the new sun and the end of the old one. Phoebus and the year take their start from the same point."

Next I wondered why the first day was not exempt from lawsuits. "Hear the cause," quoth Janus. "I assigned ⁵ the birthday of the year to business, lest from the auspice idleness infect the whole. For the same reason every man just handsels his calling, nor does more than but attest his usual work."

Next I asked, "Why, Janus, while I propitiate other ¹⁰ divinities, do I bring incense and wine first of all to thee?" Quoth he, "It is that through me, who guard the thresholds, you may have access to whatever gods you please." "But why are glad words spoken on thy Calends? and why do we give and receive good wishes?" Then, leaning on the staff he ¹⁵ bore in his right hand, the god replied: "Omens are wont," said he, "to wait upon beginnings. At the first word ye prick up anxious ears; from the first bird he sees the augur takes his cue. (On the first day) the temples and ears of the gods are open, the tongue utters no fruitless prayers, and ²⁰ words have weight." So Janus ended. I kept not silence long, but caught up his last words with my own: "What mean the gifts of dates and wrinkled figs," I said, "and honey glistening in snow-white jar?" "It is for the sake of the omen," said he, "that the event may answer to the ²⁵ flavour, and that the whole course of the year may be sweet, like its beginning." "I see," said I, "why sweets are given. But tell me, too, the reason for the gift of cash, that I may be sure of every point in thy festival." The god laughed, and "O," quoth he, "how little you know about ³⁰ the age you live in if you fancy that honey is sweeter than cash in hand! Why, even in Saturn's reign I hardly saw a soul who did not in his heart find lucre sweet. As time

180. primum *ADMm*¹: primo *Um*².

183. feci *A* (corrected) *DMm*: fecit *U*.

185. volt *A*: vult *U* *DMm*. carica *ADMm*: cortice *U*.

186. niveo *AUDM*: luteo *Zielinski*. candida *DM*²*m*¹*BS* (compare iii. 762): condita *AUM*²*m*² and apparently most *MSS.* (but the two participles data —condita are inelegant). favo (for cado) *BS*.

190. labet *AMm*: labat *UDS*.

192. putes *US*: putas *ADMm*.

- 195 tempore crevit amor, qui nunc est summus, habendi :
vix ultra, quo iam progrediatur, habet.
pluris opes nunc sunt, quam prisci temporis annis,
dum populus pauper, dum nova Roma fuit,
dum casa Martigenam capiebat parva Quirinum,
200 et dabat exiguum fluminis ulva torum.
Iuppiter angusta vix totus stabat in aede,
inque Iovis dextra fictile fulmen erat.
frondibus ornabant quae nunc Capitolia gemmis,
pascebatque suas ipse senator oves ;
205 nec pudor in stipula placidam cepisse quietem
et faenum capiti supposuisse fuit.
iura dabat populis posito modo praetor aratro,
et levis argenti lammina crimen erat.
at postquam fortuna loci caput extulit huius,
210 et tetigit summos vertice Roma deos,
creverunt et opes et opum furiosa cupido,
et, cum possideant plurima, plura petunt.
quaerere, ut absumant, absumpta requirere certant,
atque ipsae vitiis sunt alimenta vices.
215 sic quibus intumuit suffusa venter ab unda,
quo plus sunt potae, plus sitiuntur aquae.
in pretio pretium nunc est : dat census honores,
census amicitias : pauper ubique iacet.
tu tamen auspiciū si sit stipis utile, quaeris,
220 curque iuvent vestras aera vetusta manus ?
aera dabant olim, melius nunc omen in auro est,
victaque concessit prisca moneta novae.
nos quoque templa iuvant, quamvis antiqua probemus,
aurea : maiestas convenit ista deo.
225 laudamus veteres, sed nostris utimur annis :
mos tamen est aequè dignus uterque coli.”
finierat monitus. placidis ita rursus, ut ante,
clavigerum verbis adloquor ipse deum :

201. angusta *UMm* : augusta *A* : exigua *D^s*. vix totus *ADM* : totus vix *U* (*compare* *Lucan* vii. 648, where the *MSS.* similarly vary between tota vix and vix tota).

202. dei (*for* Iovis) *Heinsius, Bentley.* fulmen *AU²DMm* : lumen *U²*.

206. fuit *AUDM²m¹* : suo *M²m¹*.

207. populis posito *AUMm* : posito populis *D.* praetor *ADMm* : consul *UBCs*.

210. summos *m¹s* : summo *AUDMm²*.

211. creverunt et opes *UDMm* : creverunt opes *A*.

went on the love of self grew, till now it is at its height and scarcely can go further. Wealth is more valued now than in the years of old when the people were poor when Rome was new when a small hut sufficed to lodge Quirinus, son of Mars, and the river sedge supplied a scanty bedding; Jupiter had hardly room to stand upright in his cramped shrine and in his right hand was a thunderbolt of clay. They decked with leaves the Capitol which now they deck with gems, and the senator himself fed his own sheep. It was no shame to take one's peaceful rest on straw and to sow the head on hay. The praetor put aside the plough to judge the people and to own a light piece of silver plate was a crime. But ever since the Fortune of this place has raised her head on high and Rome with her crest has touched the topmost gods, riches have grown and with them the frantic lust of wealth and they who have the most possessions still crave for more. They strive to gain that they may waste, and then to repair their wasted fortunes, and thus they feed their vices by ringing the changes on them. So his whose belly swells with dropsy the more he drinks, the thirstier he grows. Nowadays nothing but money counts: fortune brings honours friendships: the poor man everywhere lies low. And still you ask me, What's the use of amens drawn from cash and why do ancient coppers tickle your palms? In the olden time the gifts were coppers, but now gold gives a better amen, and the old-fashioned coin has been vanquished and made way for the new. We, too, are decked by golden temples, though we approve of the ancient ones: such majesty befits a god. We praise the past, but use the present years: yet are both customs worthy to be kept." He closed his admonitions: but again in calm speech, as before, I addressed the god who bears the key "I have

212. *potest ADdM potest A¹ valuit U*
 213. *con ab f¹ : ut con dicitur*
 214. *venit ADd¹ : unde LdM* 215. *con ADd¹ : unde UD*
 216. *convenit ADd¹ : concilium Un¹ BC*
 217. *ita Un¹ BC¹ : ut ADd¹*
 218. *convenit a few f¹ : Valuit Mantua P¹ (ut apud Mantua P¹ L)*
 219. *"fideliter : mandis : dicitur tamen de reposita"* ; *Pauli III. 167 "convenit mandis : dicitur dicitur"* ; *parit (for placidus) P¹ (reparavit) : parit R N Allen (Classical Review) 1915 p. 12*
 220. *alliquot A : alliquot UDd¹*

- 230 " multa quidem didici : sed cur navalis in aere
 altera signata est, altera forma biceps ? "
 " noscere me duplici posses sub imagine," dixit
 " ni vetus ipsa dies extenuasset opus.
 causa ratis superest : Tuscum rate venit in amnem
 ante pererrato falcifer orbe deus.
 235 hac ego Saturnum memini tellure receptum :
 caelitibus regnis a Iove pulsus erat.
 inde diu genti mansit Saturnia nomen ;
 dicta quoque est Latium terra, latente deo.
 at bona posteritas puppem formavit in aere,
 240 hospitibus adventum testificata dei.
 ipse solum colui, cuius placidissima laevum
 radit harenosi Thybridis unda latus.
 hic, ubi nunc Roma est, incaedua silva virebat,
 tantaque res paucis pascua bubus erat.
 245 arx mea collis erat, quem volgus nomine nostro
 nuncupat, haec aetas Ianiculumque vocat.
 tunc ego regnabam, patiens cum terra deorum
 esset, et humanis numina mixta locis.
 nondum Iustitiam facinus mortale fugarat
 250 (ultima de superis illa reliquit humum),
 proque metu populum sine vi pudor ipse regebat ;
 nullus erat iustis reddere iura labor.
 nil mihi cum bello : pacem postesque tuebar
 et " clavem ostendens " haec " ait " arma gero."
 255 presserat ora deus. tunc sic ego nostra resolvi
 voce mea voces eliciente dei :
 " cum tot sint Iani, cur stas sacratus in uno,
 hic ubi iuncta foris templa duobus habes ? "
 ille manu mulcens propexam ad pectora barbam
 260 protinus Oebalii rettulit arma Tati,

231. ut imagine *ADMm*¹ and apparently most *MSS.*: in imagine *m*¹*BC*⁵ sub imagine *Madvig* (*Adversaria*, ii. 105), *Peter* (compare *Ovid*, *Heroides* xvi. 45 "sub imagine somni"). In *U* the word between *posses* and *imagine* has been obliterated; according to *G. H. Laing* it was in (*American Journal of Archaeology*, Second Series, iii. (1899) p. 215).

232. extenuasset *AUDMm*: extenuaret *BC*⁵

233. in amnem *AMm*: ad amnem *UD*.

236. a iove *AMm*: ab iove *U*.

237. genti mansit *AUDm*: mansit genti *M*.

239. formavit *AU¹DM*: servavit *U¹m*: sacravit *Bentley*.

learned much indeed but why is the figure of a ship stamped on one side of the copper coin, and a two-headed figure on the other? In the double image said he, "you might have recognized myself if the long lapse of time had not worn the type away Now for the reason of the ship. In a ship the sickle-bearing god came to the Tuncan river after wandering over the world I remember how Saturn was received in this land he had been driven by Jupiter from the celestial realms. From that time the folk long retained the name of Saturnian and the country too, was called Latium from the hiding (*latens*) of the god But a poem posterily inscribed a ship on the copper money to commemorate the coming of the stranger god Myself inhaled the ground whose left side is lapped by sandy Tiber's glassy wave Here, where now is Rome, green forest stood unfelled, and all this mighty region was but a pasture for a few kine My castle was the hill which common folk call by my name, and which this present age doth dub Jerusalem I reigned in days when earth could bear with gods, and divinities moved freely in the shades of men. The sin of mortals had not yet put Justice to flight (she was the last of the celestials to forsake the earth) Honour's mild not fear ruled the people without appeal to force: till there was none to expound the right to righteous men I had naught to do with war guardian was I of peace and doorways, and these quoth he showing the key these be the arms I bear The god now closed his lips. Then I thus opened mine using my voice to lure the voice divine Since there are so many archways, why dost thou stand thus consecrated in one alone here where thou hast a temple adjoining two forums? Strolling with his hand the beard that fell upon his breast he straightway told the warlike deeds of Osaballan Taurus, and how the traitress kinsman,

443. *Isaiah 41:1 and a few C (compare Matt. 24:41) Answer II: 1*

* (*larvacea silva*); *tan arbor ADM* and as a variant in 1

145. SIX MORE COLLS WERE L.D.M.² ARE MORE COLLS AND MANY F

volgus A : volgus (UDM) : rubus a few 5
 1st 1st 4UDM 1st 1st 1st 1st

1st. Rank *AUBURN* 1st. Rank *MASSACHUSETTS* (signature)
1st. Rank *MASSACHUSETTS* 1st. Rank *MASSACHUSETTS* 1st. Rank *MASSACHUSETTS*

033 Number of 1/2" x 1/2" x 1/2" cubes

1981. *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, 76, 103-110.

- utque levis custos armillis capta, Sabinos
 ad summae tacitos duxerit arcis iter.
 " inde, velut nunc est, per quem descenditis," inquit
 " arduus in valles et fora clivus erat.
 265 et iam contigerant portam, Saturnia cuius
 dempserat oppositas invidiosa seras.
 cum tanto veritus committere numine pugnam
 ipse meae movi callidus artis opus,
 oraque, qua pollens ope sum, fontana reclusi
 270 sumque repentinas eiaculatus aquas ;
 ante tamen madidis subieci sulphura venis,
 clauderet ut Tatio fervidus humor iter.
 cuius ut utilitas pulsus percepta Sabinis,
 quae fuerat, tuto reddita forma loco est.
 275 ara mihi posita est parvo coniuncta sacello :
 haec adolet flammis cum strue farra suis."
 " at cur pace lates motisque recluderis armis ? "
 nec mora, quaesiti reddita causa mihi est :
 " ut populo reditus pateant ad bella profecto,
 280 tota patet dempta ianua nostra sera.
 pacc fores obdo, ne qua discedere possit ;
 Caesareoque diu numine clusus ero."
 dixit et attollens oculos diversa videntes
 aspexit toto quicquid in orbe fuit.
 285 pax erat et, vestri, Germanice, causa triumphi,
 tradiderat famulas iam tibi Rhenus aquas.
 Iane, fac aeternos pacem pacisque ministros,
 neve suum, praesta, deserat auctor opus.
 quod tamen ex ipsis licuit mihi discere fastis,
 290 sacravere patres hac duo templa die.
 accepit Phoebo nymphaque Coronide natum
 insula, dividua quam premit amnis aqua.

261. Sabinos *AUMmBC* and many *S* : Sabinis *D*.

262. tacitos *AUMm* : tacium *D*. duxerit *AUm*^a : duxerat *DMm*¹.

263. inde velut *AUDm* : et veluti *M*.

264. et fora *U*⁵ : per fora *ADMm*⁵ : ad fora *BC*.

265. contigerant *Mm* : contigerat *AUD*⁵.

266. oppositas *AUDMm* : appositas *S*. invidiosa *AUMm* : insidiosa *DB*.

268. movi *UDM*¹ *m* : novi *AM*^a. opus *AUDM*¹ *m* : opem *M*^a.

271. madidis *AUDm* : calidis *M*. sulphura *AUMm* : sulphura *Peter*,
Ehwald-Levy.

bribed by armlets, led the silent Sabines the way to the summit of the citadel. "From there," quoth he, "a steep slope, the same by which even now ye descend, led down into the valleys and the forums. And now the foe had reached the gate from which Saturn's envious daughter had removed the opposing bars. Fearing to engage in fight with so redoubtable a deity, I slyly had recourse to a device of my own craft, and by the power I wield I opened the fountains' mouths and spouted out a sudden gush of water; but first I threw sulphur into the water channels, that the boiling liquid might bar the way against Tatius. This service done, and the Sabines repulsed, the place, now rendered safe, resumed its former aspect. An altar was set up for me, joined to a little shrine: in its flames it burns the sacrificial spelt and cake." "But why hide in time of peace and open thy gates when men take arms?" Without delay he rendered me the reason that I sought. "My gate, unbarred, stands open wide, that when the people hath gone forth to war, the road for their return may be open too. I bar the doors in time of peace, lest peace depart, and under Caesar's star I shall be long shut up." He spoke, and lifting up his eyes that saw in opposite directions, he surveyed all that the whole world held. Peace reigned, and on the Rhine already, Germanicus, thy triumph had been won, when the river yielded up her waters to be thy slaves. O Janus, let the peace and the ministers of peace endure for aye, and grant that its author may never forgo his handiwork.

But now for what I have been allowed to learn from the calendar itself. On this day the senate dedicated two temples. The island, which the river hems in with its parted waters, received him whom the nymph Coronis bore to Phoebus.

273. ut *AUDm*²: ubi *m*¹. percepta *AUMm*²: precepta *m*¹: comperta *D*.

279. reditus pateant *AUM*: pateant reditus *Dm*.

282. numine *ADMm*. nomine *UBC*. clusus *A*¹: clausus *A²UDMm*.

283. videntes *AUMBC*: tuentes *Dm*

285. vestri *AUDM*: nostri *m*.

286. famulas *AUDMm*¹: domitas *m*².

287. ministros *AU²DMm*: magistros *U*¹.

289. mihi *ADMm*: tibi *U*. discere *A²M¹m*²: dicere *A¹UDm*¹.

Iuppiter in parte est ; cepit locus unus utrumque
iunctaque sunt magno templa nepotis avo.

- 295 quis vetat et stellas, ut quaeque oriturque caditque,
dicere ? promissi pars fuit ista mei.
felices animae, quibus haec cognoscere primis
inque domos superas scandere cura fuit !
credibile est illos pariter vitiisque locisque
300 altius humanis exeruisse caput.
non Venus et vinum sublimia pectora fregit
officiumque fori militiaeve labor ;
nec levis ambitio perfusaque gloria fuco
magnarumque fames sollicitavit opum.
305 admove re oculis distantia sidera nostris
aetheraque ingenio supposuere suo.
sic petitur caelum : non ut ferat Ossan Olympus,
summaque Peliacus sidera tangat apex.
* nos quoque sub ducibus caelum metabimur illis
310 ponemusque suos ad vaga signa dies.

Ergo ubi nox aderit venturis tertia Nonis,
sparsaque caelesti rore madebit humus,
octipedis frustra quaerentur brachia Cancri :
praeceps occiduas ille subibit aquas.

- 315 Institerint Nonae, missi tibi nubibus atris
signa dabunt imbres exoriente Lyra.

Quattuor adde dies ductos ex ordine Nonis,
Ianus Agonali luce piandus erit.

293. utrumque *A²UDMm* : utrimque *A¹*.
295. quis *ADMm¹* : quid *Um²*.
296. dicere *AU¹DMm* : discere *U²*. promissi *AUMm¹* : propositi
Dm². fuit ista *D⁵* : fuit illa *m* : fuit una *M* : sit et ipsa *A* : sit et ista *U*.
297. animae *AUDMm* : animos *BC⁵*. haec *AUm* : hoc *M*. primis
AUM¹m : primum *DM²S*.
298. domos *UMm⁵* : domus *D*.
299. illos *ADMm* : illas *U*. vitiisque *AUMm* : vicibusque *D* :
populisque *Bentley*. locisque *UD* : iocisque *AMm*.
301. et vinum *AUMm* . aut vinum *D*.
302. officiumque *AUDMm* : officiumve *B⁵*.
304. magnarumque fames *AUD²m¹* : magnarumve fames *Um²* : magna-
rumque furor *D¹*. 305. admove re *AUDMm* : adduxere *one⁵*.
308. summaque *UDMm* : imaque *A* : ipsaque *Merke¹*.

Jupiter has his share of the site. One place found room for both, and the temples of the mighty grandsire and the grandson are joined together.

Who says me nay if I would tell also of the stars, their risings and their settings? That was part of my promise. 5 Ah happy souls, who first took thought to know these things and scale the heavenly mansions! Well may we believe they lifted up their heads alike above the frailties and the homes of men. Their lofty natures neither love nor wine did break, nor civil business nor the toils of war; no low ambition 10 tempted them, nor glory's tinsel sheen, nor lust of hoarded pelf. The distant stars they brought within our ken, and heaven itself made subject to their wit. So man may reach the sky: no need that Ossa on Olympus should be piled, and that Pelion's peak should touch the topmost stars. 15 Under these leaders we, too, will plumb the sky and give their own days to the wandering signs.

III. NON. 3rd.

Therefore when the third night before the Nones has come, and the ground is sprinkled and drenched with heavenly dew, you shall look in vain for the claws of the eight-footed 20 Crab: headlong he'll plunge beneath the western waves.

NON. 5th.

Should the Nones be at hand, showers discharged from sable clouds will be your sign, at the rising of the Lyre.

V. ID. 9th.

Add four successive days to the Nones, and on the Agonal morn Janus must be appeased. The day may take 25

309. *metabimur AUD²Mm*: *meditabimur D¹5*. *illis AUDMm²*: *istis m¹*. 310. *vaga AUDM¹m*: *stata M²*.

311. *aberit (for aderit) Kästner*.

313. *quaerentur Dm²*: *quaeruntur Mm¹*: *querentur U*: *queruntur A*.

314. *praeceps UDMm*: *precipue A*. *subibit AUmm*: *subivit D*.

315. *institerint AUDMm*: *obstiterint a few 5*. *nonae AU*: *imbres DMm*. *missi de Dm*: *nisi sit tibi UM²*: *nisi sit ibi A*: *nisi si tibi M¹*.

316. *signa dabunt imbres AUm²*: *nonae signa dabunt DMm¹*.

317. *ductos Dm¹*: *dictos A*: *dictis Um²*: *ductis M*.

- nominis esse potest succinctus causa minister,
 320 hostia caelitibus quo feriente cadit,
 qui calido strictos tincturus sanguine cultros
 semper ' agone ', rogat, nec nisi iussus agit.
 pars, quia non veniant pecudes, sed agantur, ab actu
 nomen Agonalem credit habere diem.
 325 pars putat hoc festum priscis Agnalia dictum,
 una sit ut proprio littera dempta loco.
 an, quia praevisos in aqua timet hostia cultros,
 a pecoris lux est ipsa notata metu ?
 fas etiam fieri solitis aetate priorum
 330 nomina de ludis Graeca tulisse diem.
 et pecus antiquus dicebat agonia sermo ;
 veraque iudicio est ultima causa meo.
 utque ea non certa est, ita rex placare sacrorum
 numina lanigeræ coniuge debet ovis.
 335 victima, quæ dextra cecidit victrice, vocatur ;
 hostibus a domitis hostia nomen habet.
 ante, deos homini quod conciliare valeret,
 far erat et puri lucida mica salis.
 nondum pertulerat lacrimatas cortice murras
 340 acta per æquoreas hospita navis aquas,
 tura nec Euphrates nec miserat India costum,
 nec fuerant rubri cognita fila croci.
 ara dabat fumos herbis contenta Sabinis
 et non exiguo laurus adusta sono.
 345 si quis erat, factis prati de flore coronis
 qui posset violas addere, dives erat.
 hic, qui nunc aperit percussi viscera tauri,
 in sacris nullum culter habebat opus.
 prima Ceres avidæ gavisæ est sanguine porcæ,
 350 ulta suas merita caede nocentis opes ;

322. agone a few *5* : agatne *AUDMm*. iussus agit *UDMm*² : iussus agat *ABC5*. 323. veniant *AUMm* : veniunt *D*.

327. an *AUDMm*² : aut *m*¹.

327-330. *Kreussler* (*Observationes in Ovidii Fastos*, pp. 4-5) *proposed to transfer these lines after 322, which 327 and 328 at least would follow more appropriately.*

328. ipsa *AUDMm* : ista *BC5*.

329. fas etiam *AUDMm*² : pars etiam *m*¹⁵ (*preferred by Heinsius, perhaps rightly*). *Riese and Ehwald-Levy transpose verses 329, 330 after 326.*

331. pecus *UD5* : prius *AMm* and many *MSS*.

its name from the attendant who, in garb succinct, fells at a blow the victim of the gods; for just before he dyes the brandished knife in the warm blood, he always asks "*Agone?*" ("Shall I proceed?"), and not until he is bidden does he proceed. Some believe that the day is named Agonal from the driving of the victims, because the sheep do not come but are driven (*agantur*) to the altar. Others think the ancients called this festival *Agnalia* ("festival of lambs"), dropping a single letter from its proper place. Or perhaps, because the victim fears the knives mirrored in the water before they strike, the day may have been so styled from the brute's agony. It may be also that the day took a Greek name from the games (*agones*) which were wont to be held in the olden time. In the ancient tongue, too, *agonia* meant a sheep, and that last, in my judgement, is the true reason of the name. And though that is not certain, still the King of the Sacred Rites is bound to placate the divinities by sacrificing the mate of a woolly ewe. The *victim* is so called because it is felled by a *victorious* right hand; the *hostia* (sacrificial victim) takes its name from conquered *hostes* (foes).

Of old the means to win the goodwill of gods for man were spelt and the sparkling grains of pure salt. As yet no foreign ship had brought across the ocean waves the bark-distilled myrrh; the Euphrates had sent no incense, India no balm, and the red saffron's filaments were still unknown. The altar was content to smoke with savine, and the laurel burned with crackling loud. To garlands woven of meadow flowers he who could violets add was rich indeed. The knife that now lays bare the bowels of the slaughtered bull had in the sacred rites no work to do. The first to joy in blood of greedy sow was Ceres, who avenged her crops by the just slaughter of the guilty beast; for she learned that

331, 332. *Kreussler* (l.c.) would transpose these lines after 326, reading nam pecus for et pecus in 331.

333. non certa *AU¹(P)ms*: nunc certa *U²DM*.

335. dextra cecidit *ADM*: cecidit dextra *Ums*.

336. a dormitis *ADMm*: amotis *U*.

338. far *UDMm*: fas *A*.

342. fila *AUDMm²*: rura *m²*.

343. contenta *AUDM¹m*: connecta *M²*.

347. percussi *UDMm*: percussit *A*.

350. merita *UDM*: merito *A*: meritas *m*.

- nam sata vere novo teneris lactentia sulcis
 eruta saetigeræ comperit ore suis.
 sus dederat poenas : exemplo territus huius
 palmitē debueras abstinuisse, caper.
 355 quem spectans aliquis dentes in vite prementem
 talia non tacito dicta dolore dedit :
 " rode, caper, vitem ! tamen hinc, cum stabis ad aram,
 in tua quod spargi cornua possit, erit."
 verba fides sequitur : noxæ tibi deditus hostis
 360 spargitur adfuso cornua, Bacche, mero.
 culpa sui nocuit, nocuit quoque culpa capellæ :
 quid bos, quid placidæ commeruistis oves ?
 flebat Aristæus, quod apes cum stirpe necatas
 viderat inceptos destituisse favos.
 365 caerula quem genetrix aegre solata dolentem
 addidit hæc dictis ultima verba suis :
 " siste, puer, lacrimas ! Proteus tua damna levabit,
 quoque modo repares quæ periire, dabit.
 decipiat ne te versis tamen ille figuris,
 370 impediunt geminas vincula firma manus."
 pervenit ad vatē iuvenis resolutaque somno
 alligat æquorei brachia capta senis.
 ille sua faciē transformis adulterat arte :
 mox domitus vinculis in sua membra redit,
 375 oraque caerulea tollens rorantia barba,
 " qua " dixit " repares arte, requiris, apes ?
 obrue mactati corpus tellure iuveni :
 quod petis a nobis, obrutus ille dabit."
 iussa facit pastor : fervent examina putri
 380 de bove : mille animas una necata dedit.
 poscit ovem fatum : verbenas improba carpsit,
 quas pia dis ruris ferre solebat anus.
 quid tuti superest, animam cum ponat in aris
 lanigerumque pecus ruricolæque boves ?

351. lactentia *UDMm*³ : lactantia *m*¹. sulcis *ADMS* : succis *Um*.

356. talia *UDMm* : tali *A*.

357. hinc *UDMm* : hic *A* : huic *one S* (*preferred by Heinsius*).

359. noxæ *A* and most *MSS.* : noxa *U* : mox est *D⁵* : mox et *Mm⁵*.

360. adfuso *A* : affuso *UDm* : effuso *M*.

361. culpa sui *UDMm* : culpa sua *A*.

364. destituisse *AUDM³m* : deseruisse *M*¹.

the milky grain in early spring had been routed up in the loose furrows by the snout of bristly swine. The swine was punished: terrified by her example, billy-goat, you should have spared the vine-shoot. Watching a he-goat nibbling at a vine somebody vented his ill-humour in these words: 5
 "Pray gnaw the vine, thou he-goat; yet when thou standest at the altar, the vine will yield something that can be sprinkled on thy horns." The words came true. Thy foe, Bacchus, is given up to thee for punishment, and wine out-poured is sprinkled on his horns. The sow suffered for her crime, and 10 the she-goat suffered, too, for hers. But the ox and you, ye peaceful sheep, what was your sin? Aristaeus wept because he saw his bees killed, root and branch, and the unfinished hives abandoned. Scarce could his azure mother soothe his grief, when to her speech she these last words subjoined. 15
 "Stay, boy, thy tears! Thy losses Proteus will retrieve and will show thee how to make good all that is gone. But lest he elude thee by shifting his shape, see that strong bonds do shackle both his hands." The stripling made his way to the seer, and bound fast the arms, relaxed in slumber, of the 20 Old Man of the Sea. By his art the wizard changed his real figure for a semblance false; but soon, by the cords mastered, to his true form returned. Then lifting up his dripping face and azure beard, "Dost ask," said he, "in what way thou mayest repair the loss of thy bees? Kill a 25 heifer and bury its carcase in the earth. The buried heifer will give the thing thou seekest of me." The shepherd did his bidding: swarms of bees hive out of the putrid beeve: one life snuffed out brought to the birth a thousand. Death claims the sheep: shameless it cropped the holy herbs 30 which a pious beldame used to offer to the rural gods. What creature is safe, when even the wool-bearing sheep and ploughing oxen lay down their lives upon the altars? Persia

365. dolentem *A*(corrected) *UDMm*: dolorem *two S*.

373. sua *two S*: suam *AUDMm* and most *MSS.* transformis adulterat *AUS*: transformat et alterat *DMm* and most *MSS.*: transmutat et alterat *S*.

380. necata *ADMm*: mactata *U*.

381. pascit ovem fatum *U* and a few *S*: pascit ovis prato *A*: pascit ovis pratum *DBC*: pavit ovis pratum *Mm*: pascit ovem pratum *Paley*.

382. ruris *AUDMm*: puras *Ilberg*.

383. tuti *ADM*: toti *U*: thuri *M*.

- 385 placat equo Persis radiis Hyperiona cinctum,
 ne detur celeri victima tarda deo.
 quod semel est triplici pro virgine caesa Dianae,
 nunc quoque pro nulla virgine cerva cadit.
 exta canum vidi Triviae libare Sapaecos,
 390 et quicumque tuas accolit, Haeme, nives.
 caeditur et rigido custodi ruris asellus;
 causa pudenda quidem, sed tamen apta deo.
 festa corymbiferi celebrabas, Graecia, Bacchi,
 tertia quae solito tempore bruma refert.
 395 di quoque cultores in idem venere Lyaei,
 et quicumque iocis non alienus erat,
 Panes et in Venerem Satyrorum prona iuventus,
 quaeque colunt amnes solaque rura deae.
 venerat et senior pando Silenus asello,
 400 quique ruber pavidas inguine terret aves.
 dulcia qui dignum nemus in convivia nacti
 gramine vestitis accubuerunt toris.
 vina dabat Liber, tulerat sibi quisque coronam,
 miscendas large rivus agebat aquas.
 405 Naïdes effusis aliae sine pectinis usu,
 pars aderant positae arte manuque comis:
 illa super suras tunicam collecta ministrat,
 altera dissuto pectus aperta sinu:
 exerit haec humerum, vestem trahit illa per herbas,
 410 impediunt teneros vincula nulla pedes.
 hinc aliae Satyris incendia mitia praebent,
 pars tibi, qui pinu tempora nexa geris.
 te quoque, inextinctae Silene libidinis, urunt:
 nequitia est, quae te non sinit esse senem.

385. placat equo *DMm*: placate quo *A*: placat equus *U*.

387. quod *UDMBCS*: quae *A* (in erasure) *m*. triplici *A¹DMm*: triplicis *A¹*: triplici *S*: gemina (for triplici) *U*: geminae *S*: Graia *E. H. Alton* (*Hermathena*, xliii. (1922) p. 285).

388. cadit *AUMm¹*: datur *Dm¹*.

389. vidi triviae *ADMM*: triviae vidi *U*. sapaecos *m¹*: sabeos *AUDM*.

393. corymbiferi *AUMm*: corimbiferi *D*: racemiferi *U¹*. celebrabas *As*: celebrabat *UDMm*.

395. in idem *AUDMm¹*: gelidi *m¹* and three *S*. lyei *U*: liaei *A*: licei *D*: lycaei *M*: lycei *m*. In support of gelidi . . . Lycei *Heinsius* quotes *Ovid*, *Metamorph.* i. 217 "gelidi pineta Lycae," and *Virgil*, *Ecl.* x. 15

propitiates the ray-crowned Hyperion with a horse, for no sluggish victim may be offered to the swift god. Because a hind was once sacrificed to the triple Diana in room of a maiden, a hind is even now felled for her, though not in a maiden's stead. I have seen the entrails of a dog offered to 5 the Goddess of the Triple Roads (*Trivia*) by the Sapaean and those whose homes border on thy snows, Mount Haemus. A young ass too is slain in honour of the stiff guardian of the country-side: the cause is shameful, but besecms the god. A feast of ivy-berried Bacchus, thou wast wont to hold, O 10 Greece, a feast which the third winter brought about at the appointed time. Thither came, too, the gods who wait upon Lyaeus and all the jocund crew, Pans and young amorous Satyrs, and goddesses that haunt rivers and lonely wilds. Thither, too, came old Silenus on an ass with hollow back, 15 and the Crimson One who by his lewd image scares the timid birds. They lit upon a dingle meet for joyous wassails, and there they laid them down on grassy beds. Liber bestowed the wine: each had brought his garland: a stream supplied water in plenty to dilute the wine. Naiads 20 were there, some with flowing locks uncombed, others with tresses neatly bound. One waits upon the revellers with tunic tucked above the knee; another through her ripped robe reveals her breast; another bares her shoulder; one trails her skirt along the grass; no shoes cumber their dainty 25 feet. So some in Satyrs kindle amorous fires, and some in thee, whose brows are wreathed with pine. Thou too, Silenus, burnest for the nymphs, insatiate lecher! 'Tis wantonness alone forbids thee to grow old. But crimson

"gelidi fleverunt saxa Lycaei." On the other hand, in support of in idem Gierig quotes Ovid, Heroides, xv. 121 "non veniunt in idem."

396. iocis *Dusae* (conjecture): ioci *Heinsius*: locis *AU*³: loci *DMm*¹: mero *U*^{1m}².

400. quique ruber pavidas *UM*¹: quique rubro pavidas *M*^{2m}: quique rubro avidas *A*: qui rubroque avidas *DS*: et qui rubro avidas *one*⁵. In support of ruber as against rubro compare Fasti i. 415 and vi. 333 "ruber hortorum custos," *Tibullus* i. 1. 17 "ruber custos" (*Priapus*).

402. gramine *UDMm*: gramina *A*.

405. Naides effusis *AUMm*: effusis naides *D*.

406. aderant *AUDM*: aderat *m*.

407. collecta *AUDM*^{1m}: succincta *M*².

409. vestem *UBC*: vestes *ADMm*.

411. mitia *AUDM*^{2m}³: mutua *M*^{2m}¹.

413. urunt *ADMm*²: urgent *Um*¹.

- 415 at ruber, hortorum decus et tutela, Priapus
 omnibus ex illis Lotide captus erat :
 hanc cupit, hanc optat, sola suspirat in illa,
 signaque dat nutu, sollicitatque notis.
 fastus inest pulchris, sequiturque superbia formam :
 420 irrisum voltu despicit illa suo.
 nox erat, et vino somnum faciente iacebant
 corpora diversis victa sopore locis.
 Lotis in herbosa sub acernis ultima ramis,
 sicut erat lusu fessa, quievit humo.
 425 surgit amans animamque tenens vestigia furtim
 suspenso digitis fert taciturna gradu.
 ut tetigit niveae secreta cubilia nymphae,
 ipsa sui flatus ne sonet aura, cavet.
 et iam finitima corpus librabat in herba :
 430 illa tamen multi plena soporis erat.
 gaudet et, a pedibus tracto velamine, vota
 ad sua felici coeperat ire via.
 ecce rudens rauco Sileni vector asellus
 intempestivos edidit ore sonos.
 435 territa consurgit nymphe manibusque Priapum
 reicit et fugiens concitat omne nemus ;
 at deus obscena nimium quoque parte paratus
 omnibus ad lunae lumina risus erat.
 morte dedit poenas auctor clamoris, et haec est
 440 Hellespontiaco victima grata deo.
 intactae fueratis aves, solacia ruris,
 adsuetum silvis innocuumque genus,
 quae facitis nidos et plumis ova fovetis
 et facili dulces editis ore modos ;
 445 sed nil ista iuvant, quia linguae crimen habetis,
 dique putant mentes vos aperire suas.
 nec tamen hoc falsum : nam, dis ut proxima quaeque,
 nunc penna veras, nunc datis ore notas.

415. decus *AUM*²: deus *DM*²*mB*.

417. sola . . . in illa *A*¹*UDM*: solam . . . in illam *A*²*m*. *With* suspirat in illa *compare Catullus*, lxiv. 98 "in flavo saepe hospite suspirantem."

418. sollicitatque *A*²*UDMm*: solidatque *A*¹ notis *AUDMm*²: manu *m*.¹

422. victa *ADMm*: iacta *U*.

424. lusu *AUDM*: ludo *m*.

Priapus, glory and guard of gardens, lost his heart to Lotis, singled out of the whole bevy. For her he longs, for her he prays, for her alone he sighs; he gives her signs by nodding and woos by making marks. But the lovely are disdainful, and pride on beauty waits: she flouted him and cast at 5 him a scornful look. 'Twas night, and wine makes drowsy, so here and there they lay overcome with sleep. Weary with frolic, Lotis, the farthest of them all, sank to her rest on the grassy ground under the maple boughs. Up rose her lover, and holding his breath stole secretly and silently on tiptoe 10 to the fair. When he reached the lonely pallet of the snow-white nymph, he drew his breath so warily that not a sound escaped. And now upon the sward fast by he balanced on his toes, but still the nymph slept sound. He joyed, and drawing from off her feet the quilt, he set him, happy lover 15 to snatch the wished-for hour. But lo, Silenus' saddle-ass, with raucous weasand braying, gave out an ill-timed roar! The nymph in terror started up, pushed off Priapus, and flying gave the alarm to the whole grove; but, ready to enter the lists of love, the god in the moonlight was laughed 20 at by all. The author of the hubbub paid for it with his life, and he is now the victim dear to the Hellespontine god.

Ye birds, the solace of the countryside, ye hunters of the woods, ye harmless race, that build your nests and warm your eggs under your plumes, and with glib voices utter 25 descant sweet, ye were inviolate once; but all that avails not, because ye are accused of chattering, and the gods opine that ye reveal their thoughts. Nor is the charge untrue; for the nearer ye are to the gods, the truer are the signs ye give, whether by wing or voice. Long time immune, the 30

427. cubilia *AUDM*: cubicula *m*.

428. ipsa *AUDs*: ipse *Mm*.

431. vota *A²UDMm*: vola *A¹*.

435. consurgit *ADMm*: consurgens *U*.

436. fugiens *AUDMm*: surgens *m¹*, nemus *ADMm*: genus *U*.

442. adsueta *A*: assuetum *UDMm*.

443. et *AUDMm*: q. ae said by Heinsius to be found in three MSS. ova *AUDMm*: ora *m¹*.

444. modos *AM²m¹*: sonos *UDM²m²*.

445. nil *Am¹*: nihil *DMm²*: nichil *U*.

447. nec *AUDMm*: non *m¹*. hoc *ADMm*: id *Um*. quaeque *AU*: quaecque est *DMm*.

- tuta diu volucrum proles tum denique caesa est,
 450 iuveruntque deos indicis exta sui.
 ergo saepe suo coniunx abducta marito
 uritur Idaliis alba columba focis ;
 nec defensa iuvant Capitolia, quo minus anser
 det iecur in lances, Inachi lauta, tuas ;
 455 nocte deae Nocti cristatus caeditur ales,
 quod tepidum vigili provocet ore diem.

Interea Delphin clarum super aequora sidus
 tollitur et patriis exerit ora vadis.

- Postera lux hiemem medio discrimine signat,
 460 aequaque praeteritae, quae superabit, erit.

- Proxima prospiciet Tithono Aurora relicto
 Arcadiae sacrum pontificale deae.
 te quoque lux eadem, Turni soror, aede recepit,
 hic ubi Virginea Campus obitur aqua.
 465 unde petam causas horum moremque sacrorum ?
 diriget in medio quis mea vela freto ?
 ipsa mone, quae nomen habes a carmine ductum,
 propositoque fave, ne tuus erret honor.
 orta prior luna (de se si creditur ipsi)
 470 a magno tellus Arcade nomen habet.
 hic fuit Evander, qui, quamquam clarus utroque,
 nobilior sacrae sanguine matris erat ;
 quae simul aetherios animo conceperat ignes,
 ore dabat pleno carmina vera dei.
 475 dixerat haec nato motus instare sibique,
 multaue praeterea tempore nacta fidem.

450. indicis *AUDM*^m : iudicis *M*^s. sui *A*^s*UDMm* : suo *A*^s.

452. uritur *UDMm* : utitur *A*. Idaliis *Heinsius* : in calidis *AUDMm*^s.
 ignitis *m*¹. 453. iuvant *UDMm* : iuvent *A*.

454. inachi lauta *m*^s : inache laute *ADBC* : inachi vacca *U*^s*Mm*¹ : inacchi
 bacca *U*¹ : inachi diva *two* *S* : inachioli *E. H. Alton* (*Hermathena*, xliii. (1922)
p. 287).

455. nocti *Um*^s : noctis *DMm*¹ : positus *A*¹ : positus *A*^s.

456. provocet *ADM* : provocat *Um*.

460. superabit *ADMm* : superavit *U*.

461. prospiciet *ADm*^s : respiciet *U* : conspiciet *Mm*¹. tithono
AUDm : tithone *M*. aurora *A*^s*DMm*^s : nupta *Um*¹ : ut nuta *A*. *Com-*
pare Fasti vi. 473.

brood of birds was slaughtered then at last, and the gods gloated on the guts of the talebearing fowls. That is why the white dove, torn from her mate, is often burned upon Idalian hearths; nor did his saving of the Capitol protect the goose from yielding up his liver on a charger to thee, 5 daughter of Inachus, goddess demure; by night to Goddess Night the crested fowl is slain, because with wakeful notes he summons up the warm day.

Meantime the bright constellation of the Dolphin rises above the sea, and from his native waters puts forth his face. 10

IV. ID. 10th.

The morrow marks midwinter; what remains of winter will be equal to what has gone before.

III. ID. 11th.

When next Aurora quits Tithonus' couch, she shall behold the rite pontifical of the Arcadian goddess. Thee, too, sister of Turnus, the same morn enshrined at the 15 spot where the Virgin Water circles the Field of Mars. Whence shall I learn the causes and manner of these rites? Who will pilot my bark in mid ocean? Thyself, enlighten me, O thou (Carmentis), who dost take thy name from song (*carmen*), be kind to my emprise, lest I should fail to give 20 thee honour due. The land that rose before the moon (if we may take its word for it) derives its name from the great Arcas. In that land Evander was, who, though illustrious on both sides, yet was the nobler for the blood of his sacred mother (Carmentis), who, soon as her soul conceived 25 the heavenly fire, chanted with swelling voice true strains divine. She had foretold that troubles were at hand for her son and for herself, and much beside she had forecast, which

466. diriget *UM*: dirriget *m*: derigit *A*: dirigat a few *S*.

467. ductum *AUMm*¹: dictum *Dm*².

469. creditur *AUDMm*³. credimus *m*¹. ipsi *AUMm*²: ipsis *Dm*¹.

471. hic *A*: hinc *UDMm*.

474. pleno *AUDMm*³: vero *m*¹*BC*. vera *AUDMm*²: plena *m*¹*BC*.

476. multaque praeterea *AUDMm*: multam praeterito *Bentley*: multam est praeterito *Riese*.

- nam iuvenis nimium vera cum matre fugatus
deserit Arcadiam Parrhasiumque larem.
cui genetrix flenti " fortuna viriliter " inquit
480 " (siste, precor, lacrimas) ista ferenda tibi est.
sic erat in fatiis ; nec te tua culpa fugavit,
sed deus ; offenso pulsus es urbe deo.
non meriti poenam pateris, sed numinis iram :
est aliquid magnis crimen abesse malis.
485 conscia mens ut cuique sua est, ita concipit intra
pectora pro facto spernque metumque suo.
nec tamen ut primus maere mala talia passus :
obruit ingentes ista procella viros.
passus idem est, Tyriis qui quondam pulsus ab oris
490 Cadmus in Aonia constitit exul humo :
passus idem Tydeus et idem Pagasacus Iason,
et quos praeterea longa referre mora est.
omne solum forti patria est, ut piscibus aequor,
ut volucris, vacuo quicquid in orbe patet.
495 nec fera tempestas toto tamen horret in anno :
et tibi (crede mihi) tempora veris erunt."
vocibus Evander firmata mente parentis
nave secat fluctus Hesperiamque tenet.
iamque ratem doctae monitu Carmentis in amnem
500 cgerat et Tuscis obuius ibat aquis :
fluminis illa latus, cui sunt vada iuncta Tarenti,
aspicit et sparsas per loca sola casas ;
utque erat, immissis puppem stetit ante capillis
continuitque manum torva regentis iter,
505 et procul in dextram tendens sua brachia ripam
pineae non sano ter pede texta ferit ;
neve daret saltum properans insistere terrae,
vix est Evandri vixque retenta manu.
" di " que " petitorum " dixit " salvet locorum,
510 tuque novos caelo terra datura deos,

478. Arcadiam *AUMm* : Arcadium *two 5*.480. precor *AUDMm*¹ : puer *m*¹.481. fatiis *UDMm* : factis *A*.484. magnis *UDMm* : magni *A*.487. maere *ADm*² : maeres *M* : maeret *m*¹.491. pagaseus *m*² : pegaseus *AUMm*¹.494. vacuo *DMm* : vacuum *U* : vacua *A*.

time proved true. Too true, indeed, the mother proved when, banished with her, the youth forsook Arcadia and the god of his Parrhasian home. He wept, but she, his mother, said, "Check, prithee, thy tears; bear like a man thy fortune. 'Twas fated so; no fault of thine has banished 5 thee, the deed is God's; an offended god has driven thee from the city. What thou dost endure is not the punishment of sin but heaven's ire: in great misfortunes it is something to be unstained by crime. As each man's conscience is, so doth it, for his deeds, conceive within his breast 10 or hope or fear. Nor mourn these sufferings as if thou wert the first to suffer; such storms have whelmed the mighty. Cadmus endured the same, he, who of old, driven from Tyrian coasts, halted an exile on Aonian soil. Tydeus endured the same, and Pagasaeon Jason too, and others 15 more of whom it were long to tell. Every land is to the brave his country, as to the fish the sea, as to the bird whatever place stands open in the void world. Nor does the wild tempest rage the whole year long; for thee, too, trust me, there will be springtime yet." Cheered by his parent's 20 words, Evander cleft in his ship the billows and made the Hesperian land. And now at sage Carmentis' bidding he had steered his bark into a river and was stemming the Tuscan stream. Carmentis spied the river bank, where it is bordered by Tarentum's shallow pool; she also spied the 25 huts dotted about these solitudes. And even as she was, with streaming hair she stood before the poop and sternly stayed the steersman's hand; then stretching out her arms to the right bank, she thrice stamped wildly on the pinewood deck. Hardly, yea hardly did Evander hold her back from 30 leaping in her haste to land. "All hail!" she cried, "Gods of the Promised Land! And hail! thou country that shalt

495. horret *Um*¹: errat *ADMm*⁸ and apparently most *MSS.*

497. firmata *UmBC*⁵: et firma *AM*⁵: et firmus *D*⁵.

500. egerat *AUDMm*⁸: vexerat *m*¹*BC*⁵.

501. tarenti *ADMm*⁸: parenti *U*²*m*¹: terenti *U*².

505. With this line begins the Brussels manuscript (No. 5369, Bibliothèque Royale, Bruxelles): its symbol is *X*.

506. tecta *UDXMm*⁸: tecta *A*: testa *m*¹.

507. terrae *A*¹*UXM*¹*m*¹: ripae *A*²*DM*⁸*m*⁸

- fluminaque et fontes, quibus utitur hospita tellus,
 et nemorum nymphae naiadumque chori !
 este bonis avibus visi natoque mihique,
 ripaque felici tacta sit ista pede !
- 515 fallor, an hi fient ingentia moenia colles,
 iuraque ab hac terra cetera terra petet ?
 montibus his olim totus promittitur orbis :
 quis tantum fati credat habere locum ?
 et iam Dardaniae tangent haec litora pinus :
- 520 hic quoque causa novi femina Martis erit.
 care nepos, Palla, funesta quid induis arma ?
 indue ! non humili vindice caesus eris.
 victa tamen vinces eversaue, Troia, resurges :
 obruet hostiles ista ruina domos.
- 525 urite victrices Neptunia Pergama flammae !
 num minus hic toto est altior orbe cinis ?
 iam pius Aeneas sacra et, sacra altera, patrem
 adferet : Iliacos accipe, Vesta, deos !
 tempus erit, cum vos orbemque tuebitur idem,
- 530 et fient ipso sacra colente deo,
 et penes Augustos patriae tutela manebit :
 hanc fas imperii frena tenere domum.
 inde nepos natusque dei, licet ipse recuset,
 pondera caelesti mente paterna feret ;
- 535 utque ego perpetuis olim sacrabor in aris,
 sic Augusta novum Iulia numen erit.”
 talibus ut dictis nostros descendit in annos,
 substitit in medios praescia lingua sonos.
 puppibus egressus Latia stetit exul in herba,
- 540 felix, exilium cui locus ille fuit !

512. nemorum nymphae *M²m²*: nemorum silvae *AUDXM¹m¹BCS*: nemora et silvae *Burman* (with one *MS.*, comparing *Amores* iii. 6. 84 “Nemora et silvae”).

513. avibus *AU* (corrected) *DXMm²*: animis *m¹*.

515. fient *AUDXMm²*: facient *m¹*.

520. martis *A²UDXMm*: mortis *A¹*. erit *A²UDXMm*: erat *A¹*.

524. obruet *UXMm*: obruit *AD*.

525. flammae *UDXMm*: flamma *A*.

526. num minus three 5 (according to *Heinsius*): non minus *U5*: nunc minor *ADM²m¹*: non minor *M¹m²*: nec minus est toto hic *Xm²* (in margin).

527. iam *AUDXm*: nam *M*. pius *UDXMm*: pinus *A*.

528. adferet *A*; afferet *UDXMm*. accipe *ADMm²*: excipe *UXm¹BC*.

give new gods to heaven ! Hail rivers and fountains, which to this hospitable land pertain ! Hail nymphs of the groves and bands of Naiads ! May the sight of you be of good omen to my son and me ! And happy be the foot that touches yonder bank ! Am I deceived ? or shall yon hills 5 by stately walls be hid, and from this spot of earth shall all the earth take law ? The promise runs that the whole world shall one day belong to yonder mountains. Who could believe that the place was big with such a fate ? Anon Dardanian barks shall ground upon these shores : here, too, 10 a woman shall be the source of a new war. Pallas, my grandson dear, why don those fatal arms ? Ah, put them on ! By no mean champion shalt thou be avenged. Howbeit, conquered Troy, thou shalt yet conquer and from thy fall shalt rise again : thy very ruin shall o'erwhelm the dwell- 15 ings of thy foes. Ye conquering flames, consume Neptunian Pergamum ! Shall that prevent its ashes from o'ertopping all the world ? Anon pious Aeneas shall hither bring his sacred burden, and, burden no whit less sacred, his own sire ; Vesta, admit the gods of Ilium ! The time will come 20 when the same hand shall guard you and the world, and when a god shall in his own person hold the sacred rites. In the line of Augustus the guardianship of the fatherland shall abide : it is decreed that his house shall hold the reins of empire. Thereafter the god's son and 25 grandson, despite his own refusal, shall support with heavenly mind the weight his father bore ; and even as I myself shall one day be sanctified at eternal altars, so shall Julia Augusta be a new divinity." When in these words she had brought her story down to our own time, her prophetic 30 tongue stopped short at the middle of her discourse. Landing from his ships, Evander stood an exile on the Latian sward, fortunate indeed to have that ground for place of

529. vos *ADXMm* : ius *U* (*in erasure*).

533. recuset *UDXMm* . recuses *A*.

536. numen *U^aDXMm^a* . nomen *AU¹m¹*.

537. ut dictis *ADMm^a* : auspiciis *UXm¹*. in annos *ADm^a* : in amnes
M : ad agros *UXm¹C*.

538. medios . . . sonos *AUDMm^a* : medio . . . sono *XM¹*.

539. herba *AUDXM¹m* : urbe *M^a*.

- nec mora longa fuit : stabant nova tecta, neque alter
montibus Ausoniis Arcade maior erat.
ecce boves illuc Erytheidas applicat heros
emensus longi claviger orbis iter ;
545 dumque huic hospitium domus est Tegeaea, vagantur
incustoditae lata per arva boves.
mane erat : excussus somno Tirynthius actor
de numero tauros sentit abesse duos.
nulla videt quaerens taciti vestigia furti :
550 traxerat aversos Cacus in antra ferox,
Cacus, Aventinae timor atque infamia silvae,
non leve finitimis hospitibusque malum.
dira viro facies, vires pro corpore, corpus
grande : pater monstri Mulciber huius erat :
555 proque domo longis spelunca recessibus ingens,
abditā, vix ipsis inveniēda feris.
ora super postes adfixaque brachia pendent,
squalidaque humanis ossibus albet humus.
servata male parte boum Iove natus abibat :
560 mugitum rauco furta dedere sono.
“ accipio revocamen ” ait, vocemque secutus
impia per silvas ultor ad antra venit.
ille aditum fracti praestruxerat obice montis ;
vix iuga movissent quinque bis illud opus.
565 nititur hic humeris (caelum quoque sederat illis)
et vastum motu conlabefactat onus.
quod simul eversum est, fragor aethera terruit ipsum,
ictaque subsedit pondere molis humus.
prima movet Cacus collata proelia dextra
570 remque ferox saxis stipitibusque gerit.

541. neque alter *AM*: nec alter *UDXm*.

542. mentibus (*for* montibus) *Madvig*.

543. illuc *AU'DMm*¹: illic *Xm*². erytheidas *M*: eritheidas *AU*:
heritheidas *X*: erichteidos *D*.

546. lata *ADXMm*³: laeta *Um*¹.

547. actor *Heinsius*: auctor vel heros *A*: heros *DXMm*³*C* and many *S*:
hospes *Um*¹.

548. sentit *AUXm*³*BC*: sensit *DMm*¹.

549. videt quaerens *UXMm*: videt querens *A*: videns quaerit *D*.

550. ferox *AUXM*¹*m*¹: ferus *D*: feros *m*²: boves *M*²*m*².

553. dira *UDXMm*¹: dura *Am*². viro *AUXMm*: viri *D*.

554. mulciber *AUXMm*: mulcifer *D*.

556. abditā *ADXMm*: obdita *U*.

exile ! But little time elapsed until new dwellings rose, and of all the Ausonian mounts not one surpassed the Arcadian.

Lo ! the club-bearer hither drives the Erythean kine ; a long road he had travelled across the world ; and while he is kindly entertained in the Tegean house, the kine unguarded 5 stray about the spacious fields. When morning broke, roused from his sleep the Tirynthian drover perceived that of the tale two bulls were missing. He sought but found no tracks of the noiselessly stolen beasts. Fierce Cacus had dragged the bulls backwards into his cave, Cacus the terror 10 and the shame of the Aventine wood, to neighbours and to strangers no small curse. Grim was his aspect, huge his frame, his strength to match ; the monster's sire was Mulciber. For house he had a cavern vast with long recesses, hidden so that hardly could the wild beasts themselves 15 discover it. Above the doorway skulls and arms of men were fastened pendent, while the ground bristled and bleached with human bones. The son of Jove was going off with the loss of part of the herd, when the stolen cattle lowed hoarsely. " I accept the recall," quoth he, and following 20 the sound he came, intent on vengeance, through the woods to the unholy cave. But the robber had blocked the entrance with a barricade of crag ; scarcely could twice five yoke of oxen have stirred that mass. Hercules shoved it with his shoulders—the shoulders on which the sky itself had once 25 rested—and by the shock he loosened the vast bulk. Its overthrow was followed by a crash that startled even the upper air, and the battered ground sank under the ponderous weight. At first Cacus fought hand to hand, and waged battle fierce with rocks and logs. But when these naught 30

559. abibat *AUDXMM* : abibas *A²* and one *S*.

562. ultor *UXm¹BC* : victor *ADMM²*.

563. praestruxerat *DXMM* : perstruxerat *AU*.

564. vix *UDXMM* : bis *A*. opus *Am¹* : onus *UDXMM²*.

565, 566. These lines are wanting in *X* : they are added at the foot of the page in *m*.

566. conlabefactat *A* : collabefactat *UDMM*.

567. eversum *AUDXMM¹* : evulsum *m²⁵*. In the parallel passage (*Aen.* viii. 238) *Virgil* has *avolsum*.

568. ietaque *UDMM²* : iactaque *ABCm¹*. molis *UDXM* : mollis *Am⁵*.

570. ferox *AUDMM¹* : ferus *Xm²*.

- quis ubi nil agitur, patrias male fortis ad artes
 confugit et flammas ore sonante vomit ;
 quas quotiens proflat, spirare Typhoëa credas
 et rapidum Aetnaeo fulgur ab igne iaci.
 575 occupat Alcides, adductaque clava trinodis
 ter quater adverso sedit in ore viri.
 ille cadit mixtosque vomit cum sanguine fumos
 et lato moriens pectore plangit humum.
 immolat ex illis taurum tibi, Iuppiter, unum
 580 victor et Evandrum ruricolisque vocat,
 constituitque sibi, quae Maxima dicitur, aram,
 hic ubi pars urbis de bove nomen habet.
 nec tacet Evandri mater prope tempus adesse,
 Hercule quo tellus sit satis usa suo.
 585 at felix vates, ut dis gratissima vixit,
 possidet hunc Iani sic dea mense diem.
- Idibus in magni castus Iovis aede sacerdos
 semimaris flammis viscera libat ovis ;
 redditaque est omnis populo provincia nostro,
 590 et tuus Augusto nomine dictus avus.
 perlege dispositas generosa per atria ceras :
 contigerunt nulli nomina tanta viro.
 Africa victorem de se vocat, alter Isauras
 aut Cretum domitas testificatur opes ;
 595 hunc Numidae faciunt, illum Messana superbum,
 ille Numantina traxit ab urbe notam,
 et mortem et nomen Druso Germania fecit—
 me miserum, virtus quam brevis illa fuit !
 si petat a victis, tot sumat nomina Caesar,
 600 quot numero gentes maximus orbis habet.

571. quis *UDXmm* : quie *A*.

574. aetnaeo *M* : actneo *A* : aethneo *U* : ethneo *D* : aethereo *X*. igne
AUXmm : ore *D*.

576. adverso *Um*¹ : adversos *A* : adversi *DXmm*². (*Compare Virgil*,
Aen. xii. 950, "adverso sub pectore.") ore *AUDmm*³ : ora *Xm*¹.

577. mixtosque . . . fumos *AUDXmm*¹ : mixtasque . . . flammis *m*².

578. lato *AUDXmm* : latam *Hilberg*. plangit *ADXmm* : tangit *U*.

581. constituitque *AUDXmm*³ : instituitque *M*²*m*¹.

584. tellus *AUDXmm*¹ : tempus *m*¹.

585. ut diis *U* : ut diis *XM* : et diis *m* : undis *ADB*⁵. vixit *ADXmm*³ :
 dixit *UXm*¹*BC*.

589. omnis *AUDXmm* : oneris *Merkel*³ provincia *AUDXmm*³ :

availed him, worsted he had recourse to his sire's tricks, and belched flames from his roaring mouth ; at every blast you might deem that Typhoeus blew, and that a sudden blaze shot out from Etna's fires. But Alcides was too quick for him ; up he heaved the triple-knotted club, and brought 5 it thrice, yea four times down full on the foeman's face. He fell, vomiting smoke mixed with blood, and dying beat the ground with his broad breast. Of the bulls the victor sacrificed one to thee, Jupiter, and invited Evander and the swains to the feast ; and for himself he set up the altar which 10 is called the Greatest at the spot where a part of the city takes its name from an ox. Nor did Evander's mother hide the truth that the time was at hand when earth would have done with its hero Hercules. But the happy prophetess, even as she lived in highest favour with the gods, so now 15 herself a goddess hath she this day in Janus' month all to herself.

IDUS. 13th.

On the Ides the chaste priest offers in the flames the bowels of a gelded ram in the temple of great Jove. On that day, too, every province was restored to our people, 20 and thy grandsire received the title of Augustus. Peruse the legends graved on waxen images ranged round noble halls, titles so lofty never were bestowed on man before. Africa named her conqueror after herself ; another by his style attests Isaurian or Cretan power subdued : one gloried 25 in Numidians laid low, another in Messina, while from the city of Numantia yet a third drew his renown. To Germany did Drusus owe his title and his death : woe's me ! that all that goodness should be so short-lived ! Did Caesar take his titles from the vanquished, then must he assume as many 30 names as there are tribes in the whole world. Some have

prudencia *m*¹. nostro *U¹DX²Mm³* : vestro *U¹X¹(f)m¹* : vestri *Merke¹* :
reading in *A* blurred. 591. generosa *UDX¹Mm* : cinerosa *A*.

592. contigerunt *A* : contigerant *UXM²m¹* : contigerint *M²m³* : contingunt *D*.

593. alter isauras *U¹X* : alter hisauras *D* : alteris auras *m¹* : aleris aura
U¹ : alitis aura *A* : alter isaurum *Mm²*.

594. cretum *AUXM¹* : crethum *m* : cretam *M²*.

599. sumat *AXMm¹* : sumet *Um²* : nomen tot (*for* tot sumat) *D* :

600. quot *UDX¹Mm* : quod *A*.

- ex uno quidam celebres aut torquis adempti
aut corvi titulos auxiliaris habent.
Magne, tuum nomen rerum est mensura tuarum :
sed qui te vicit, nomine maior erat.
605 nec gradus est supra Fabios cognominis ullus :
illa domus meritis Maxima dicta suis.
sed tamen humanis celebrantur honoribus omnes :
hic socium summo cum Iove nomen habet.
sancta vocant augusta patres, augusta vocantur
610 templa sacerdotum rite dicata manu ;
huius et augurium dependet origine verbi,
et quodcumque sua Iuppiter auget opē.
augeat imperium nostri ducis, augeat annos,
protegat et vestras querna corona fores,
615 auspicibusque deis tanti cognominis heres
omine suscipiat, quo pater, orbis onus !

- Respiciet Titan actas ubi tertius Idus,
fient Parrhasiae sacra relata deae.
Nam prius Ausonias matres carpenta vehebant
620 (haec quoque ab Evandri dicta parente reor) ;
mox honor eripitur, matronaque destinat omnis
ingratos nulla prole novare viros,
neve daret partus, ictu temeraria caeco
visceribus crescens excutiebat onus.
625 corripuisse patres ausas immitia nuptas,
ius tamen ereptum restituuisse ferunt ;
binaque nunc pariter Tegeaeae sacra parenti
pro pueris fieri virginibusque iubent.
scortea non illi fas est inferre sacello,
630 ne violent puros exanimata focos.

601. celebres *AUDXM* : celeres *m*. adempti *AU¹DM* : adempte *U¹* ;
adepti *m¹* : adeptae *Xm¹*.

602. corvi *UDXMm* : torvi *A*. habent *ADXMm* : habet *U*.

603. rerum est mensura tuarum *AUDM* : rerum mensura tuarum est *X*.

604. qui *UDXMm* : quae *A*. nomine maior *AM¹m¹* : te quoque maior
UDXM¹m¹C : se quoque *or* re quoque maior *Heinsius* (*who finally acquiesced*
in the reading nomine). 605. supra *A¹m¹5* : super *A¹* : ultra *UDXMm¹BC*.

609. sancta vocant augusta patres *AUDX* : sancta patres augusta vocant *M*

614. vestras *AUDXm¹* : nostras *Mm²* : meritas *one 5*.

615. deis *UDXMm* : dies *A*.

617. actas *A¹UDXMm* : aetas *A¹*. idus *A¹UDXMm¹* : idem *m¹*.

618. fient *UDXMm* : fient *A*. relata *A¹UDXM¹m* : relictas *A¹M¹*.

earned fame from single conquests, taking their names either from a neckless wen or from a raven confederate in the fight. Pompey thy name of Great is the measure of thy deeds, but he who conquered thee was greater still in name. No surname can rank above that which the Fabii bear for a their services their family was called the Greatest. But yet the honours bestowed on all of these are human. Augustus alone bears a name that ranks with Jove supreme. Holy things are by the farmers called august: the epithet august is applied to temples that have been duly dedicated by no priestly hands from the savor rent come augury and all such augmentation as Jupiter grants by his power. May he augment our prince's empire and augment his years, and may an oak-crown protect your dears. Under the auspices of the gods may the same omens, which attended us the day, wait upon the heir of so great a surname when he takes upon himself the burden of the world.

XVIII KAL FEB 15th

When the third sun shall look back on the past Ides, the sacred rites will be repeated in honour of the Parrhasian goddess. For of old Ausonian matrons drove in carriages (*carpentis*) which I ween were also called after Evander's parent (*Carmentis*). Afterwards the honour was taken from them, and every matron vowed not to propagate the line of her ungrateful spouse by giving birth to offspring and lest she should bear children, she rashly by a secret thrust discharged the growing burden from her womb. They say the senate reprimanded the wives for their daring cruelty but restored the right of which they had been snatched and they ordained that now two festivals be held alike in honour of the Tegean mother to promote the birth of boys and girls. It is not lawful to bring leather into her shrine, lest her pure hearth should be defiled by skins of slaughtered

Latin source *AU'DA'm* inverse *I'Ym* *visu AU'DAM*; *matris*
and *matris m* *vis*; *matris* *(I)DA'm*; *causa A*

Latin source *Dm* (*carpentis* how has *carpentis*); *carpentis* *AP* *carpentis*
AP; *matris A* *matris* *(I)Ym* *vis* *visu AU'DAM*; *visu AU'DAM*

Go. *visu AU'DAM* *visu AU'DAM* *visu AU'DAM* *visu AU'DAM* *visu AU'DAM*
AU'DAM; *matris* *U*

siquis amas veteres ritus, adsiste precanti :
 nomina percipies non tibi nota prius.
 Porrima placatur Postvertaque, sive sorores
 sive fugae comites, Maenali diva, tuae :
 635 altera, quod porro fuerat, cecinisse putatur,
 altera, venturum postmodo quicquid erat.

Candida, te niveo posuit lux proxima templo,
 qua fert sublimes alta Moneta gradus :
 nunc bene prospicies Latiam, Concordia, turbam,
 640 nunc te sacratae constituere manus.
 Furius antiquam populi superator Etrusci
 voverat et voti solverat ille fidem.
 causa, quod a patribus sumptis secesserat armis
 volgus, et ipsa suas Roma timebat opes.
 645 causa recens melior : passos Germania crines
 porrigit auspiciis, dux venerande, tuis ;
 inde triumphatae libasti munera gentis
 templaque fecisti, quam colis ipse, deae.
 hanc tua constituit genetrix et rebus et ara,
 650 sola toro magni digna reperta Iovis.

Haec ubi transierint, Capricorno, Phoebe, relicto
 per iuvenis cures signa gerentis aquam.

Septimus hinc oriens cum se demiserit undis,
 fulgebit toto iam Lyra nulla polo.

631. adsiste *A* : assiste *UDXMm*.

633. placatur *AUDXMm* : placantur a few *5*. postvertaque *AUXm¹* :
 postversaue *D* : postventaue *Mm²*.

636. venturum *AUDX(corrected)Mm²* : versurum *m¹*. erat *A¹UDX¹Mm²* :
 erit *A¹X¹5*.

639. prospicies *UDXm* : prospiciens *A* : proficies *M*.

640. nunc te *AUDXMm* : ut te *Kreussler* : nam te *Riese* : qua te *Schenkl*.
 constituere *ADMm¹* : restituere *UXm¹*.

641. antiquam *AUXm¹* : antiqui *DMm¹*.

642. ille *AU¹X¹Mm²* : ante *U¹X¹m¹*.

643. secesserat *AUDMm¹* : decesserat *Xm¹*.

645. passos *M¹* : sparsos *UDXM²mBC5* : pansus *A*.

646. porrigit *UDX¹m¹* (*compare* Fasti v. 593, Tristia ii. 227, Amores i. 14.
 45) : corrigit *AMX¹m¹*.

648. quam *AUMm* : quae *DX*. ipse *UDX¹M* : ipsa *AX¹m*.

649. hanc *m¹B* and two *5* : haec *AUDXMm¹*. *Compare* H. Peter De P.
 Ovidii Nasonis fastis disputatio critica, pp. 16 sq.

beasts. If thou hast any love of ancient rites, attend the prayers offered to her : you shall hear names you never knew before. Porrima and Postverta are placated, whether they be thy sisters, Maenalian goddess, or companions of thine exile : the one is thought to have sung of what was long ago (*porro*), the other of what should come to pass hereafter (*venturum postmodo*).

XVII. KAL. 16th.

Fair goddess, thee the next morning set in thy snow-white fane, where high Moneta lifts her steps sublime : now, Concord, shalt thou well o'erlook the Latin throng, now consecrated hands have stablished thee. Furius, the vanquisher of the Etruscan folk, had vowed the ancient temple, and he kept his vow. The cause was that the common folk had taken up arms and seceded from the nobles, and Rome dreaded her own puissance. The recent cause was better : Germany presented her dishevelled locks at thy command, leader revered ; hence didst thou offer the spoil of the vanquished people, and didst build a temple to that goddess whom thou thyself dost worship. That goddess thy mother did stablish both by her life and by an altar, she who alone was found worthy to share the bed of mighty Jupiter.

XVI. KAL. 17th.

When that is over, thou wilt quit Capricorn, O Phocbus, and wilt take thy course, through the sign of the youth who carries water (Aquarius).

X. KAL. 23rd.

When the seventh sun, reckoned from that day, shall have set in the sea, the Lyre will shine no longer anywhere in the sky.

652. *gerentis Heinsius* : *regentis AUDXm* : *tenentis M*.

653. *demiserit AUMm* : *dimiserit X*.

654. *fulgebat AUDXm* : *fulgebat M*. *toto UDX¹Mm¹ · nullo AX¹(f)m¹.*

- 655 Sidere ab hoc ignis venienti nocte, Leonis
 qui micat in medio pectore, mersus erit.
 ter quater evolvi signantes tempora fastos,
 nec Sementiva est ulla reperta dies :
 cum mihi (sensit enim) " lux haec indicitur," inquit
 660 Musa, " quid a fastis non stata sacra petis ?
 utque dies incerta sacro, sic tempora certa,
 seminibus iactis est ubi fetus ager."
 stâte coronati plenum ad praesaepa iuveni :
 cum tepido vestrum vere redibit opus.
 665 rusticus emeritum palo suspendat aratrum :
 omne reformidat frigida vulnus humus.
 vilice, da requiem terrae semente peracta ;
 da requiem, terram qui coluere, viris.
 pagus agat festum : pagum lustrate, coloni,
 670 et date paganis annua liba focis.
 placentur frugum matres, Tellusque Ceresque,
 farre suo gravidæ visceribusque suis.
 officium commune Ceres et Terra tuentur :
 haec praebet causam frugibus, illa locum.
 675 " consortes operis, per quas correctæ vetustas
 quænaque glans victa est utiliore cibo,
 frugibus immensis avidos satiate colonos,
 ut capiant cultus præmia digna sui.
 vos date perpetuos teneris sementibus auctus,
 680 nec nova per gelidas herba sit usta nives.
 cum scrimus, caelum ventis aperite serenis ;
 cum latet, aetheria spargite semen aqua.

655. venienti *AUDXM* : venientis *m*.

658. sementiva *DXm⁵* : sementita *AUM¹* : sementina *M²m¹* ulla
AUDXMm² : illa *m¹*.

659. indicitur *AUDX* : inducitur *m¹* : non dicitur *M*.

660. sacra *AUXMm* : signa *D*.

661, 662. *These lines are omitted by X¹ but added in the margin by X². In m they are placed after lines 663, 664.*

661. sacra (sacro²) sic tempore certo *A* : sacris sic tempora certa *UX* : sacri
 sic tempora certa *D* : sacris sic tempore certo *Mm²*.

662. iactis *ADXMm²* : laetis *Um²B*. fetus *AU* : foetus *DXMm*.

664. cum *AUDXm* : dum *M*.

665. rusticus *ADXMm* : villicus *U⁵*. suspendat *A²UM¹m²* : suspendit
A¹DXM²m¹. aratrum *UDXMm* : aratro *A*.

666. frigida *UDX¹m⁵* : frigore *AX²Mm²*.

668. terram *U²DXMm* : terrae *AU¹*. qui *ADXMm* : quam *U*.
 viris *AU²DXMm* : viri *U¹*.

IX. KAL. 24th.

After the setting of that constellation (the Lyre), the fire that glitters in the middle of the Lion's breast will be sunk below the horizon at nightfall.

Three or four times I searched the record of the calendar, but nowhere did I find the Day of Sowing. Seeing me puzzled, the Muse observed, "That day is appointed by the priests. Why look for movable feasts in the calendar? And while the day of the feast may shift, the season is fixed: it is when the seed has been sown and the field fertilized." Ye steers, take your stand with garlands on your heads at the full crib: with the warm spring your toil will return. Let the swain hang up on the post the plough that has earned its rest: the cold ground shrinks from every wound inflicted by the share. Thou bailiff, when the sowing is done, let the land rest, and let the men who tilled the land rest also. Let the parish keep festival; purify the parish, ye husbandmen, and offer the yearly cakes on the parish hearths. Propitiate Earth and Ceres, the mothers of the corn, with their own spelt and flesh of teeming sow. Ceres and Earth discharge a common function: the one lends to the corn its vital force, the other lends it room. "Partners in labour, ye who reformed the days of old and replaced the acorns of the oak by food more profitable, O satisfy the eager husbandmen with boundless crops, that they may reap the due reward of their tillage. O grant unto the tender seeds unbroken increase; let not the sprouting shoot be nipped by chilly snows. When we sow, let the sky be cloudless and winds blow fair; but when the seed is buried, then sprinkle it with water from the sky. Forbid

671. frugum matres AUM : matres frugum DXm .

672. pio (for suo) *Heinsius*, comparing farre pio *Horace*, Odes iii. 23. 20, *Virgil*, Aen. v. 745, *Tibullus* iii. 4. 10, pium far *Arnobius*, *Adversus Nationes* vii. 26.

675. operis two S : superis AU^1M : operum U^1DXm . correctæ $AUDM^1m^2$: correpta $Xm^c n^1$.

677. frugibus $UDXM^1m^1$: fructibus AM^2m^2 . satiate $AUDX^1Mm^1$: augete X^2m^2 .

680. nec $AUDMm^2$: ne Xm^1 . herba sit usta AM : usta sit herba $UDXm$.

682. aetheria AX^1 : aetherea UDX^2Mm^2 : hesperia m^1 .

- neve graves cultis Cerialia rura, cavete,
 agmine laesuro depopulentur aves.
- 685 vos quoque, formicae, subiectis parcite granis :
 post messem praedae copia maior erit.
 interea crescat scabrae robiginis expers,
 nec vitio caeli palleat aegra seges,
 et neque deficiat m̄acie neque pinguior aequo
- 690 divitiis pereat luxuriosa suis.
 et careant loliis oculos vitiantibus agri,
 nec sterilis culto surgat avena solo.
 triticeos fetus passuraque farra bis ignem
 hordeaque ingenti fenore reddat ager ! "
- 695 haec ego pro vobis, haec vos optate coloni,
 efficiatque ratas utraque diva preces.
 bella diu tenere viros : erat aptior ensis
 vomere, cedebat taurus arator equo ;
 sarcula cessabant, versique in pila ligones,
- 700 factaque de ratri pondere cassis erat.
 gratia dis domuique tuae ; religata catenis
 iampridem vestro sub pede bella iacent.
 sub iuga bos veniat, sub terras semen aratas :
 pax Cererem nutrit, pacis alumna Ceres.
- 705 At quae venturas praecedat sexta Kalendas,
 hac sunt Ledaicis templa dicata deis :
 fratribus illa deis fratres de gente deorum
 circa Iuturnae composuere lacus.
- Ipsam nos carmen deduxit Pacis ad aram.
- 710 haec erit a mensis fine secunda dies.
 frondibus Actiacis comptos redimita capillos,
 Pax, ades et toto mitis in orbe mane.
 dum desint hostes, desit quoque causa triumphi :
 tu ducibus bello gloria maior eris.

683. cultis *A¹U¹DXMm* : cultus *A¹U¹*. cerealia *Am* : cerealea *UDXM*. rura *AU¹DXm¹* : dona *U¹Mm¹*.

684. depopulentur *U¹DXMm* : ne populentur *U¹* : depopolantur *A¹* : depopulantur *A¹*. 687. robiginis *A¹* : rubiginis *A¹UDXMm*.

688. aegra *UXm¹* : egra *D* : ulla *AM* : usta *m¹*.

691. vitiantibus *AXMm* : viciantibus *D* : vincentibus *U*.

695. haec . . . haec *AUDXMm¹* : hoc . . . hoc *m¹*.

700. cassis *AU¹DXMm* : cuspis *W. Gemoll*.

701. tuae *AUDX¹Mm¹* : suae *X¹m¹*. religata *A¹UDXMm* : religate *A¹*.

the birds—pests of the tilled land—to devastate the fields of corn with their destructive flocks. You too, ye ants, O spare the sown grain; so shall ye have a more abundant booty after the harvest. Meantime may no scurfy mildew blight the growing crop nor foul weather blanch it to a sickly⁵ hue; may it neither shrivel up nor swell unduly and be choked by its own rank luxuriance. May the fields be free from darnel, that spoils the eyes, and may no barren wild oats spring from the tilled ground. May the farm yield, with manifold interest, crops of wheat, of barley, and of spelt,¹⁰ which twice shall bear the fire." These petitions I offer for you, ye husbandmen, and do ye offer them yourselves, and may the two goddesses grant our prayers. Long time did wars engage mankind; the sword was handier than the share; the plough ox was ousted by the charger; hoes were¹⁵ idle, mattocks were turned into javelins, and a helmet was made out of a heavy rake. Thanks be to the gods and to thy house! Under your foot long time War has been laid in chains. Yoke the ox, commit the seed to the ploughed earth. Peace is the nurse of Ceres, and Ceres is the foster-²⁰ child of Peace.

VI. KAL. 27th.

On the sixth day before the coming Calends a temple was dedicated to Leda's divine sons: brothers of the race of the gods founded that temple for the brother gods beside Juturna's pools.

25

III. KAL. 30th.

The course of my song hath led me to the altar of Peace. The day will be the second from the end of the month. Come, Peace, thy dainty tresses wreathed with Actian laurels, and let thy gentle presence abide in the whole world. So but there be nor foes nor food for triumphs, thou shalt be³⁰ unto our chiefs a glory greater than war. May the soldier

705. praecedit *ADMm*²: praecedet *UXm*¹.706. ledacis *UMm*: ledc¹: *D*: laedcis *AX*.707. deis *M²m²*: dies *AUXM²m¹BC* and many *S*.709. deduxit pacis *AMm*²: pacis deduxit *UD*: pacis deducit *Xm*¹.711. actiacis *AUDXm*: ac bacis *M*.713. desint *A¹UXMm*: desunt *A²* and many *S*.714. gloria *ADMm*²: gratia *m*¹.

- 715 sola gerat miles, quibus arma coerceat, arma;
canteturque fera nil nisi pompa tuba.
horreat Aeneadas et primus et ultimus orbis :
si qua parum Romam terra timebat, amet.
tura, sacerdotes, pacalibus addite flammis,
720 albaque percussa victima fronte cadat,
utque domus, quæ præstat eam, cum pace perennet,
ad pia propensos vota rogate deos.
sed iam prima mei pars est exacta laboris,
cumque suo finem mense libellus habet.

718. timebat $A^1DX^2Mm^3$: timebit $A^2UX^2m^1$.

719. pacalibus $AUDX^2Mm^3$: placatis X^2m^1 .

720. percussa $UDXm^1$: perfusa AMm^3 . *The reading percussa is supported by Fasti i. 347 "percussi viscera tauri," and by the parallel passage, Tristia iv. 2. 5 sq. "Candidaque addurta collum percussa securi | victima."*

bear arms only to check the armed aggressor, and may the fierce trumpet blare for naught but solemn pomp! May the world near and far dread the sons of Aeneas, and if there be any land that feared not Rome, may it love Rome instead! Add incense, ye priests, to the flames that burn on the altar of Peace, let a white victim fall with cloven brow, and ask of the gods, who lend a favouring ear to pious prayers, that the house, which is the warranty of peace, with peace may last for ever.

But now the first part of my labour is done, and with 10 the month of which it treats the book doth end.

721. praestat *AUXMm*²: praestet *Dm*¹. perennet *UDXMm*: perhennes *A*¹: perhennet *A*².

722. ad *UDXMm*: at *A*. rogate *AUXMm*²: probate *Dm*¹.

723. exacta *AUDXMm*¹: exhausta *m*².

FASTORUM LIBER SECUNDUS

LIBER SECUNDUS

- Ianus habet finem. cum carmine crescit et annus :
 alter ut hic mensis, sic liber alter eat.
 nunc primum velis, elegi, maioribus itis :
 exiguum, memini, nuper eratis opus.
- 5 ipse ego vos habui faciles in amore ministros,
 cum lusit numeris prima iuventa suis.
 idem sacra cano signataque tempora fastis :
 ecquis ad haec illinc crederet esse viam ?
 haec mea militia est : ferimus quae possumus arma,
- 10 dextraque non omni munere nostra vacat.
 si mihi non valido torquentur pila lacerto,
 nec bellatoris terga premuntur equi,
 nec galea tegimur nec acuto cingimur ense,
 (his habilis telis quilibet esse potest),
- 15 at tua prosequimur studioso pectore, Caesar,
 nomina, per titulos ingredimurque tuos.
 ergo ades et placido paulum mea munera voltu
 respice, pacando si quid ab hoste vacas.

- februa Romani dixere piamina patres :
 20 nunc quoque dant verbo plurima signa fidem.
 pontifices ab rege petunt et flamine lanas,
 quis veterum lingua februa nomen erat,
 quaeque capit lictor domibus purgamina versis
 torrida cum mica farra, vocantur idem ;

1. crescit Xm^2 : crescat $AUDMm^1$.
2. hic $AUDXMm^1$: it m^2 and many ζ : hinc *Heinsius*.
3. itis $AUDXm^2$: ite Mm^1 .
8. ecquis Mm^2 : et quis A : sed quis $UDXm^1B$.
9. ferimus ADm^2 : gerimus $UXMm^1BC$.
15. at $UDXMm^2$: et A : hac m^1 .
16. ingredimurque $AUDMm^1$: progredimurque Xm^2 .
18. pacando $AUMm^2$: pacato DXm^1 . hoste $AUDXMm^1$: orbe *two* ζ .
- vacas UXm^1 : vacat $ADMm^2$.
19. piamina AMm^2 : piacula $UDXM^2m^1C$ and many ζ .

BOOK II

JANUARY is over. • The year progresses with my song : even as this second month, so may my second book proceed.

My elegiacs, now for the first time ye do sail with ampler canvas spread : as I remember, up till now your theme was slender. Myself I found you pliant ministers of love, when in 5 the morn of youth I toyed with verse. Myself now sing of sacred rites and of the seasons marked in the calendar : who could think that this could come of that ? Herein is all my soldiery : I bear the only arms I can : my right hand is not all unserviceable. If I can neither hurl the javelin with 10 brawny arm, nor bestride the back of war horse ; if there is no helmet on my head, no sharp sword at my belt—at such weapons any man may be a master of fence—still do I rehearse with hearty zeal thy titles, Caesar, and pursue thy march of glory. Come, then, and if the conquest of the 15 foe leaves thee a vacant hour, O cast a kindly glance upon my gift.

Our Roman fathers gave the name of *februa* to instruments of purification : even to this day there are many proofs that such was the meaning of the word. The pontiffs ask 20 the King and the Flamen for woollen cloths, which in the tongue of the ancients had the name of *februa*. When houses are swept out, the toasted spelt and salt which the officer gets as means of cleansing are called by the same name. The

20. signa *AUDMm*² : verba *XBC*.

22. quis *A²DMm*² : quae *A¹UXm*¹. veterum *AUXMm* : veteri in *D* and many 5. erat *AD²Im*² : habent *UXm*¹.

23. versis *Merkel* (ed. 1841, p. clxvi) : certis *AUD²XM*¹ : ternis *D¹m*(*p*) : acernis *M*² : tersis *Heinsius* : ternus *Merkel* (l.c.) : mortis *R. Wünsch* (Rheinisches Museum, N.F. lvi. 1901, p. 402) : maestis *Ehwald* : purgamine certa *Koch* : purgamen acernis *Hertzberg*.

24. torrida *UDXm*² : turbida *AMm*¹.

- 25 nomen idem ramo, qui caesus ab arbore pura
 casta sacerdotum tempora fronde tegit.
 ipse ego flaminicam poscentem februa vidi ;
 februa poscenti pinea virga data est.
 denique quodcumque est, quo corpora nostra piantur,
 30 hoc apud intonsos nomen habebat avos.
 mensis ab his dictus, secta quia pelle Luperci
 omne solum lustrant idque piamen habent,
 aut quia placatis sunt tempora pura sepulcris,
 tunc cum ferales praeteriere dies.
 35 omne nefas omnemque mali purgamina causam
 credebant nostri tollere posse senes.
 Graecia principium moris dedit : illa nocentis
 impia lustratos ponere facta putat.
 Actoriden Peleus, ipsum quoque Pelea Phoci
 40 caede per Haemonias solvit Acastus aquas :
 vectam frenatis per inane draconibus Aegeus
 credulus inmerita Phasida fovit ope :
 Amphiareïades Naupactoo Acheloo
 " solve nefas " dixit, solvit et ille nefas.
 45 a ! nimium faciles, qui tristia crimina caedis
 flumineae tolli posse putatis aqua !
 sed tamen (antiqui ne nescius ordinis erres)
 primus, ut est, Iani mensis et ante fuit ;
 qui sequitur Ianum, veteris fuit ultimus anni :
 50 tu quoque sacrorum, Termine, finis eras.
 primus enim Iani mensis, quia ianua prima est :
 qui sacer est imis manibus, imus erat.
 postmodo creduntur spatio distantia longo
 tempora bis quini continuasse viri.

25. pura *AUDMm*¹ : pino *X* : primo *m*².

26. sacerdotum *A²UDXMm* : sacerdotem *A*¹.

27. ipse *UDXMm* : ipsum *A*¹ : ipsam *A*² (*preferred by Heinsius*).
 flaminicam *UDm*² : flamineam *XMBC* and many *S* : flaminicam *m*¹ : flam-
 minatum *A* (*corrupted*).

28. pinea *AUDXMm* : spinea *Heinsius* and one *S*.

29. corpora *ADX²Mm*² : pectora *UX¹m*¹. piantur *ADXMm*¹ : piantur
*m*² : pictur *U*.

33. pectora (*for* tempora) *Riese* (*conjecture*). pura *ADX¹Mm*² : plura
*Um*¹ : pulchra *X*². 34. tunc *AUDMm*² : tum *Xm*¹.

35. purgamina *AUX¹m*¹ : purgamine *DX²m*².

37. dedit *AUDXMm* : fuit *some S*. With "principium moris dedit"
compare Propertius i. 18. 6 "Quod mihi das flendi, Cynthia, principium?"

same name is given to the bough, which, cut from a pure tree, wreaths with its leaves the holy brows of priests. I myself have seen the Flamen's wife (*Flaminica*) begging for *februa*; at her request for *februa* a twig of pine was given her. In short, anything used to cleanse our bodies went by that name 5 in the time of our unshorn forefathers. The month is called after these things, because the Luperci purify the whole ground with strips of hide, which are their instruments of cleansing, or because the season is pure after that peace-offerings have been made at the graves and the days devoted 10 to the dead are past. Our sires believed that every sin and every cause of ill could be wiped out by rites of purgation. Greece set the example: she deems that the guilty can rid themselves of their crimes by being purified. Peleus cleansed Actorides, and Acastus cleansed Peleus himself 15 from the blood of Phocus by the Haemonian waters. Wafted through the void by bridled dragons, the Phasian witch received a welcome, which she little deserved, at the hands of trusting Aegeus. The son of Amphiaraus said to Naupactian Achelous, "O rid me of my sin," and the other did rid 20 him of his sin. Fond fools alack! to fancy murder's gruesome stain by river water could be washed away! But yet, lest you should err through ignorance of the ancient order, know that the month of Janus was of old the first, even as now it is; the month that follows January 25 was the last of the old year. Thy worship too, O Terminus, formed the close of all the sacred rites. For the month of Janus came first because the door (*janua*) comes first; that month was nethermost which to the nether shades was consecrated. Afterwards the Decemvirs are believed to have joined 30 together times which had been parted by a long interval.

39. actoriden UXm : actoridem M^1 : auctor idem AM^2 . phori $UXMm$: foci A^2D : fove A^1 . 42. fovit ADX^2Mm^2 : iuvit UXm^1 .

43. amphiaraides Um^2 : amphiaraiades XM : amphioraides D : amfiaralades A . naupactoo AX^2 : naupacto UX^1m : naupactes D : naupactolos M . acheloo $ADXMm$: anchileoque U .

46. putatis $AUDM^2$: putetis m^1 : putastis Bentley (but compare putat in line 38).

48. ut est $AUDMm^1$: ubi est Xm^2 . iani A^2UDXMm^2 : ianus A^1 : anni m^1 .

51. enim $AUDXM^2m^1$: erat M^1m^2 . iani mensis $AUEm$: mensis iani XM .

- 55 Principio mensis Phrygiae contermina Matri
 Sospita delubris dicitur aucta novis.
 nunc ubi sint illis, quaeris, sacrata Kalendis
 templa deae ? longa procubere die.
 cetera ne simili caderent labefacta ruina,
 60 cavit sacrati provida cura ducis,
 sub quo delubris sentitur nulla senectus ;
 nec satis est homines, obligat ille deos.
 templorum positor, templorum sancte repostor,
 sit superis, opto, mutua cura tui !
 65 dent tibi caelestes, quos tu caelestibus, annos,
 proque tua mancant in statione domo !
 tunc quoque vicini lucus celebratur Helerni,
 qua petit aequeas advena Thybris aquas.
 ad penetrare Numae Capitolinumque Tonantem
 70 inque Iovis summa caeditur arce bidens.
 saepe graves pluvias adopertus nubibus auster
 concitat, aut posita sub nive terra latet.

- Proximus Hesperias Titan abiturus in undas
 gemmea purpureis cum iuga demet equis,
 75 illa nocte aliquis tollens ad sidera voltum
 dicet " ubi est hodie quae Lyra fulsit heri ? "
 dumque Lynam quaeret, medii quoque terga Leonis
 in liquidas subito mersa notabit aquas.

- Quem modo caelatum stellis Delphina videbas,
 80 is fugiet visus nocte sequente tuos :
 seu fuit occultis felix in amoribus index,
 Lesbida cum domino seu tulit ille lynam.

56. sospita *A²DXMm* : hospita *A¹U*. novis *AUDXM¹m* : suis *M²*.
 57. ubi sint *Dm²* : ubi sunt *AUXMm¹*. quaeris *Xm¹* : queris *D* :
 quae sunt *AUMm¹*. With "Nunc ubi sint . . . quaeris" compare Fasti v. 526
 "Nunc ubi sit, quaeritis ?"
 58. longa *AUDXMm* : longo *B* and some *S*.
 61. senectus *AUDXM²m* : vetustas *M¹*.
 63. repostor *U¹DXm¹* : repertor *AU²Mm¹*.
 65. quos *AUDXMm* : quot *one S*.
 67. tunc *ADM* : tum *UXm*. celebratur *ADXMm* : celebrantur *U*.
 Helerni *Heinsius* (comparing Fasti vi. 105) : averni *AX²Mm¹* : asyli *UDm¹* :
 asili *X¹*. 71. auster *XDm¹S* : aether *AUMm¹*.
 72. latet *ADXMm* : iacet *U*.
 74. demet *ADX²Mm¹* : demit *UX¹m²*.
 75. voltum *A* : vultum *DXMm* : vultus *Um²*.

KAL. FEB. 1st.

At the beginning of the month Saviour (*Sospita*) Juno, the neighbour of the Phrygian Mother Goddess, is said to have been honoured with new shrines. If you ask, where are now the temples which on those Calends were dedicated to the goddess? tumbled down they are with the long lapse of time. 5 All the rest had in like sort gone to wrack and ruin, had it not been for the far-seeing care of our sacred chief, under whom the shrines feel not the touch of eld; and not content with doing favours to mankind he does them to the gods. O saintly soul, who dost build and rebuild the temples, I 10 pray the powers above may take such care of thee as thou of them! May the celestials grant thee the length of years which thou bestowest on them, and may they stand on guard before thy house!

Then, too, the grove of Helernus is thronged with wor- 15 shippers, fast by the spot where Tiber, coming from afar, makes for the ocean waves. At Numa's sanctuary, at the Thunderer's fane upon the Capitol, and on the summit of Jove's citadel a sheep is slain. Often, muffled in clouds, the South Wind brings up heavy rains, or under fallen snow the 20 earth is hid.

IV. NON. 2nd.

When the next sun, before he sinks into the western waves, shall from his purple steeds undo the jewelled yoke, some one that night, looking up at the stars, shall say, "Where is to-day the Lyre which yesterday shone bright?" 25 And while he seeks the Lyre, he will mark that the back of the Lion also has of a sudden plunged into the watery waste.

III. NON. 3rd.

The Dolphin, which of late thou didst see fretted with stars, will on the next night escape thy gaze. (He was raised to heaven) either because he was a lucky go-between in love's 30 intrigues, or because he carried the Lesbian lyre and the lyre's

78. notabit *ADXMm*²: notavit *U*.80. visus *AUXMm*: vultus *D*.81. fuit *UDXMm*: fugit *A*.82. lesbida cum *AUDMm*¹: lesbiacam *Xm*². tulit *AUDXm*: tollit *M*.

- quod mare non novit, quae nescit Ariona tellus ?
 carmine currentes ille tenebat aquas.
- 85 saepe sequens agnam lupus est a voce retentus,
 saepe avidum fugiens restitit agna lupum ;
 saepe canes leporesque umbra iacuerunt sub una,
 et stetit in saxo proxima cerva leae,
 et sine lite loquax cum Palladis alite cornix
- 90 sedit, et accipitri iuncta columba fuit.
 Cynthia saepe tuis fertur, vocalis Arion,
 tamquam fraternis obstipuisse modis
 nomen Arionium Siculas impleverat urbes,
 captaque erat lyricis Ausonis ora sonis ;
- 95 inde domum repetens puppem conscendit Arion,
 atque ita quaesitas arte ferebat opes.
 forsitan, infelix, ventos undasque timebas,
 at tibi nave tua tutius aequor erat.
 namque gubernator destricto constitit ense
- 100 ceteraque armata conscia turba manu.
 quid tibi cum gladio ? dubiam rege, navita, puppem :
 non haec sunt digitis arma tenenda tuis.
 ille, metu pavidus, " mortem non deprecor " inquit,
 " sed liceat sumpta pauca referre lyra."
- 105 dant veniam ridetque moram. capit ille coronam,
 quae possit crines, Phoebe, decere tuos ;
 induerat Tyrio bis tinctam murice pallam :
 reddidit icta suos pollice chorda sonos,
 flebilibus numeris veluti canentia dura
- 110 traiectus penna tempora cantat olor.
 protinus in medias ornatus desilit undas :
 spargitur impulsa caerulea puppis aqua.

83. non novit *AUDX²Mm* : cognovit *X¹*.

86. restitit *ADMM²* : respicit *UXm¹*.

87. iacuerunt *AUDMM²* : cubuere *Xm¹*. umbra iacuerunt sub una
AUDMM : una cubuere sub umbra *X*.

88. et stetit *AUDXm* : stetit *M*. cerva *A²UDXMM* : serva *A¹*.

89. cornix *A¹UXMM²* : corvus *A²Dm¹*.

92. obstipuisse *A* : obstupuisse *UXMM* (*but in UX the u in stup seems to be a correction*) : opposuisse *D*.

93. impleverat *ADMM* : compleverat *UX*. urbes *DXm²* : undas
AUMm¹ and many *S*. 94. sonis *AUDMM¹* : modis *Xm²*.

95. puppem *A* : puppim *UDXMM*.

97. ventos undasque *AUMm²* : ventos undamque *Xm¹* : undas ventos-
 que *D*.

master. What sea, what land knows not Arion? By his song he used to stay the running waters. Often at his voice the wolf in pursuit of the lamb stood still, often the lamb halted in fleeing from the ravening wolf; often hounds and hares have couched in the same covert, and the hind upon the rock has stood beside the lioness; at peace the chattering crow has sat with Pallas' bird, and the dove has been neighbour to the hawk. 'Tis said that Cynthia oft hath stood entranced, tuneful Arion, at thy notes, as if the notes had been struck by her brother's hand. Arion's fame had filled 10 Sicilian cities, and by the music of his lyre he had charmed the Ausonian land. Thence wending homewards, he took ship and carried with him the wealth his art had won. Perhaps, poor wretch, thou didst dread the winds and waves, but in sooth the sea was safer for thee than thy ship. For 15 the helmsman took his stand with a drawn sword, and the rest of the conspiring gang had weapons in their hands. What wouldst thou with a sword? Steer the crazy bark, thou mariner; these weapons ill befit thy hands. Quaking with fear the bard, "I deprecate not death," said he, "but let me take my lyre and play a little." They gave him leave and 20 laughed at the delay. He took the crown that might well, Phoebus, become thy locks; he donned his robe twice dipped in Tyrian purple: touched by his thumb, the strings gave back a music all their own, such notes as the swan chants 25 in mournful numbers when the cruel shaft has pierced his snowy brow. Straightway, with all his finery on, he leaped plump down into the waves: the reflux water splashed the

98. at $AD\dot{X}Mm^2$: hac $\dot{U}m^1$.

99. districto $AD\dot{X}^1Mm^1$: districto $\dot{U}X^2m^2$.

100. armata conscia $AD\dot{X}M$: armata est conscia $\dot{U}m$.

102. haec sunt $AUD\dot{X}m$: sunt haec M . digitus $\dot{U}D\dot{X}Mm$: digitus A .

103. pavidus $AUD\dot{X}Mm$: vacuus as a variant in one s: ('supported by Heinsius, who quotes Metamorph. iii. 582. "Ille metu vacuus"; id. x. 117, "Isque metu vacuus"; Seneca, Hippolyt. 146, "vacuum metu"): viduus *Merkel*⁸ (conjecture).

106. possit ADM : posset Xm .

107. induerat $A^2UD\dot{X}Mm^2$: induerat A^1 : induit et Xm^2 . his tinctam $A^2D\dot{X}m^1$: distinctam A^1UMm^2 .

108. suos $AUD\dot{X}^2Mm^2$: suo X^1m^1 . pollice $A^2UD\dot{X}Mm$: publice A^1 .

109. flebilibus numeris $AUXMm$: flebilis innumeris D .

110. tempora $AUD\dot{X}^1Mm$: pectora *Riese* (conjecture).

112. aqua $UD\dot{X}Mm$: aquas A .

- inde (fide maius) tergo delphina recurvo
 se memorant oneri supposuisse novo ;
 115 ille sedens citharamque tenet pretiumque vehendi
 cantat et aequoreas carmine mulcet aquas.
 di pia facta vident : astris delphina recepit
 Iuppiter et stellas iussit habere novem.

- Nunc mihi mille sonos, quoque est memoratus Achilles,
 120 vellem, Maeonide, pectus inesse tuum,
 dum canimus sacras alterno pectine Nonas :
 maximus hic fastis accumulatur honos.
 deficit ingenium, maioraque viribus urgent :
 haec mihi praecipuo est ore canenda dies.
 125 quid volui demens elegis imponere tantum
 ponderis ? heroi res erat ista pedis.
 sancte pater patriae, tibi plebs, tibi curia nomen
 hoc dedit, hoc dedimus nos tibi nomen, eques
 res tamen ante dedit. sero quoque vera tulisti
 130 nomina, iam pridem tu pater orbis eras.
 hoc tu per terras, quod in aethere Iuppiter alto,
 nomen habes : hominum tu pater, ille deum.
 Romule, concedes : facit hic tua magna tuendo
 moenia, tu dederas transilienda Remo.
 135 te Tatius parvique Cures Caeninaque sensit :
 hoc duce Romanum est solis utrumque latus.
 tu breve nescio quid victae telluris habebas :
 quodcumque est alto sub Iove, Caesar habet.
 tu rapis, hic castas duce se iubet esse maritas
 140 tu recipis luco, reppulit ille nefas.
 vis tibi grata fuit, florent sub Caesare leges
 tu domini nomen, principis ille tenet.

113. fide maius AU^2DXMm : fides maior U^1 . tergo $AUDMm^1$: telo X^1m^1 : dorso X^2m^1 .

115. sedens $AUDMm^1$: sedet Xm^1 . tenet A^2Xm^1 : tenens A^1UDMm^1 . vehendi $AUDMm^2$: ferendi Xm^1BC .

117. facta $AUDXm^1$: fata m^1 . recepit A^2UDXm^1 : videbis A^1 .

119. quoque AU^2DXMm : quibus U^1 .

121. alterno AUX^2Mm^1 : aeterno DXm^1BC . pectine U^2Mm^1 : pectore AU^1 : carmine DXm^1 .

122. hic $A^1X^1m^1BC$: his $A^2UDX^2M^1m^1$: hinc M^2 . accumulatur $UDXm^1$: acumulatur A : adcelebratur m^1 .

124. dies A^2UDXm^1 : tuis A^1 .

126. heroi $AUXMm$: heroici $DB\zeta$. 129. quoque $ADXm^1$: quot U .

azure poop. Thereupon they say (it sounds past credence) a dolphin did submit his arched back to the unusual weight ; seated there Arion grasped his lyre and paid his fare in song, and with his chant he charmed the ocean waves. The gods see pious deeds : Jupiter received the dolphin among the 5 constellations, and bade him have nine stars.

. NON. 5th.

Now could I wish for a thousand tongues and for that soul of thine, Maeonides, which glorified Achilles, while I sing in distiches the sacred Nones. This is the greatest honour that is heaped upon the calendar. My genius faints ; 10 the burden is beyond my strength : this day above all others is to be sung by me. Fool that I was, how durst I lay so great a weight on elegiac verse ? the theme was one for the heroic stanza. Holy Father of thy Country, this title hath been conferred on thee by the people, by the senate, and by 15 us, the knights. But history had already conferred it ; yet didst thou also receive, though late, thy title true : long time hadst thou been the Father of the World. Thou bearest on earth the name which Jupiter bears in high heaven : of men thou art the father, he of the gods. Romulus, thou must 20 yield pride of place. Cæsar by his guardian care makes great thy city walls ; the walls thou gavest to the city were such as Remus could o'erleap. Thy power was felt by Tatius, the little Cures, and Caenina ; under Cæsar's leadership whate'er the sun beholds on either side is Roman. Thou 25 didst own a little stretch of conquered land : all that exists beneath the canopy of Jove is Cæsar's own. Thou didst rape wives : Cæsar bade them under his rule be chaste. Thou didst admit the guilty to thy grove : he hath repelled the wrong. Thine was a rule of force : under Cæsar it is 30 the laws that reign. Thou didst the name of master bear :

130. eras *UDXMM* : erat *A*.

133. concedes *AUDMM*² concedis *Xm*¹ : concedas *m*³ ̄. tua *AUD³XMm* : tibi *D*¹.

135. caeninaque *AU²m* : ceninaque *DX* : caecinaque *U* : cecinnaque *M*¹ : corvinaque *M*². 139. se *U²DXMm* : te *AU*¹.

140. reppulit *AUDM²m²* : submovet *XM*¹ : summovet *m*¹.

141. vis *UDXMM* : vix *A*.

- te Remus incusat, veniam dedit hostibus ille.
 caelestem fecit te pater, ille patrem.
- 145 iam puer Idaeus media tenus eminet alvo
 et liquidas mixto nectare fundit aquas.
 en etiam, siquis Borean horrere solebat,
 gaudeat : a Zephyris mollior aura venit.
- Quintus ab aequoreis nitidum iubar extulit undis
- 150 Lucifer, et primi tempora veris erunt.
 ne fallare tamen, restant tibi frigora, restant,
 magnaue discedens signa reliquit hiems.
- Tertia nox veniat : Custodem protinus Ursae
 aspicias geminos exeruisse pedes.
- 155 inter Hamadryadas iaculatricemque Dianam
 Callisto sacri pars fuit una chori.
 illa deae tangens arcus " quos tangimus arcus,
 este meae testes virginitatis " ait.
 Cynthia laudavit, " promissa " que " foedera serva,
 160 et comitum princeps tu mihi " dixit " eris."
 foedera servasset, si non formosa fuisset :
 cavit mortales, de Iove crimen habet.
 mille feras Phoebe silvis venata redibat
 aut plus aut medium sole tenente diem.
- 165 ut tetigit lucum (densa niger ilice lucus,
 in medio gelidae fons erat altus aquae),
 " hic " ait " in silva, virgo Tegeaea, lavemur ! "
 erubuit falso virginis illa sono.
 dixerat et nymphis : nymphae velamina ponunt,
 170 hanc pudet et tardae dat mala signa morae.
 exuerat tunicas ; uteri manifesta tumore
 proditur indicio ponderis ipsa suo.

144. ille *AUDMm*¹ : ipse *X* (in *erasure*) *m*².147. borean *UDXMm* : boream *A*.148. mollior *AUDMm*¹ : melior *m*¹ : mitior *Mm*².149. nitidum *AUDMm* : medium *D*. iubar extulit undis *UDXMm*² :iuba rex tulit undas *A* : caput exeret undis *m*¹.150. erunt *AUDXMm* : eunt *three S*.153. veniat *ADXM*¹ : veniet *UMm*².154. exeruisse *AUDXMm*² : exercuisse *M*².156. una *AUDXMm* : illa *D*¹. 157. tangimus *UDXMm* : tangimur *A*.159. foedera *AUDXMm*² : munera *m*¹ *S*.160. dixit eris *AUDXMm*² : semper eris *m*¹.161. formosa *AUDXM* : fortuna *M*.

he bears the name of prince. Thou hast an accuser in thy brother Remus : Caesar pardoned foemen. To heaven thy father raised thee : to heaven Caesar raised his sire.

Already the Idaean boy shows himself down to the waist, and pours a stream of water mixed with nectar. Now joy too, ye who shrink from the north wind ; from out the west a softer gale doth blow.

. V. ID. 9th.

When five days later the Morning Star has lifted up its radiance bright from out the ocean waves, then is the time that spring begins. But yet be not deceived, cold days are still in store for thee, indeed they are : departing winter leaves behind great tokens of himself.

III. ID. 11th.

Come the third night, thou shalt straightway remark that the Bear-Ward has thrust forth both his feet. Among the Hamadryads in the train of the archeress Diana one of the sacred band was Callisto. Laying her hand on the bow of the goddess, "Thou bow," quoth she, "which thus I touch, bear witness to my virginity." Cynthia approved the vow, and said, "Keep but thy plighted troth and thou shalt be the foremost of my company." Her troth she would have kept if she had not been fair. With mortals she was on her guard ; it was with Jove she sinned. Of wild beasts in the forest Phoebe had chased full many a score, and home she was returning at noon or after noon. No sooner had she reached the grove—the grove where the thick holm-oaks cast a gloom and in the midst a deep fountain of cool water rose—than the goddess spake : "Here in the wood," quoth she, "let's bathe, thou maid of Arcady." At the false name of maid the other blushed. The goddess spoke to the nymphs as well, and they put off their robes. Callisto was ashamed and bashfully delayed. But when she doffed her tunic, too plainly, self-convicted, her big belly betrayed the weight she

164. *polum* (*for diem*) *one* 5.

167. *hic A¹U* : *hac DXMm¹* : *haec A¹m¹*. *lavemur A¹UDXMm* : *lavetur A¹*.

169. *et AUD* : *haec XMm¹* : *hoc m¹*.

171. *tunicas UDXMm* : *tunica A* : *tunicam two* 5.

172. *suo A¹* : *sui UDXMm*.

- cui dea "virgineos, periura Lycaoni, coetus
desere nec castas pollue" dixit "aquas."
175 luna novum decies implerat cornibus orbem :
quae fuerat virgo credita, mater erat.
laesa furit Iuno, formam mutatque puellae.
quid facis ? invito est pectore passa Iovem.
utque ferae vidit turpes in paelice voltus,
180 "huius in amplexus Iuppiter" inquit "eat !"
ursa per incultos errabat squalida montes,
quae fuerat summo nuper amata Iovi.
iam tria lustra puer furto conceptus agebat,
cum mater nato est obvia facto suo.
185 illa quidem, tamquam cognosceret, adstitit amens
et gemuit : gemitus verba parentis erant.
hanc puer ignarus iaculo fixisset acuto,
ni foret in superas raptus uterque domos.
signa propinqua micant : prior est, quam dicimus
Arcton,
190 Arctophylax formam terga sequentis habet.
saevit adhuc canamque rogat Saturnia Tethyn,
Maenaliam tactis ne lavet Arcton aquis.
- Idibus agrestis fumant altaria Fauni
hic, ubi discretas insula rumpit aquas.
195 haec fuit illa dies, in qua Veientibus armis
ter centum Fabii ter cecidere duo.
una domus vires et onus susceperat urbis :
sumunt gentiles arma professa manus.
egreditur castris miles generosus ab isdem,
200 e quis dux fieri quilibet aptus erat.
Carmentis portae dextro est via proxima Iano :
ire per hanc noli, quisquis es ; omen habet.

173. virgineos $A^2 UDXMm$: virginitas A^1 . lycaoni UX^2 : lycaona DX^1m : lycaone M : licaone A .

174. nec UX^2Mm^1 : ne A (corrected) DX^1m^2

175. novum $UUXMm$: novis D .

180. eat $AUXMm$: erat D .

185. adstitit A : astitit $UDXMm$.

189. quam dicimus $AUXMm$; quae dicitur D .

191. rogat $UDXM^2m^1$ (omitted in A) : petit M^1m^2 . tethym Mm^2 : tethim A : thetym m^1 : thetim DX .

194. rumpit $AUDMm^1$: rupit Xm^2 .

192. lavet AU^2DMm^2 : iuuet Xm^2 .

195. veientibus A^1U^2XM : venientibus m : vincentibus A^2 : volcentibus U^1 : vegentibus D . armis $AUDXMm^2$: arvis m^1 .

bore. To whom the goddess spake : " Daughter of Lycaon forsworn, forsake the company of maids and defile not the pure waters." Ten times the horned moon had filled her orb afresh, when she who had been thought a maid was proved a mother. The injured Juno raged and changed the damsel's shape. Why 5 so ? Against her will Jove ravished her. And when in the leman she beheld the ugly features of the brute, quoth Juno, " Let Jupiter now court her embraces." But she, who of late had been beloved by highest Jove, now roamed, a shaggy she-bear, the mountains wild. The child she had conceived 10 in sin was now in his third lustre when his mother met him. She indeed, as if she knew him, stood distraught and growled ; a growl was all the mother's speech. Her the stripling with his sharp javelin would have pierced, but that they both were caught up into the mansions on high. As 15 constellations they sparkle beside each other. First comes what we call the Bear ; the Bear-Ward seems to follow at her back. Still Saturn's daughter frets and begs grey Tethys never to touch and wash with her waters the Bear of Maenalus.

IDUS. 13th.

On the Ides the altars of rustic Faunus smoke, there 20 where the island breaks the parted waters. This was the day on which thrice a hundred and thrice two Fabii fell by Veientine arms. A single house had undertaken the defence and burden of the city : the right hands of a single clan proffered and drew their swords. From the same camp a 25 noble soldiery marched forth, of whom any one was fit to be a leader. The nearest way is by the right-hand arch of Carmentis' gate : go not that way, whoc'er thou art : 'tis

196. cecidere *AUXMm* : periere *D*.

201. carmentis *AU²Mm²* : carmenti *U¹DXm¹*. dextro *X²m¹* : dextra *A* (corrected) *UMm²*. *E. H. Alton* would correct the line thus : " Carmentis porta duxit via proxima Iano," translating, " Through the Gate of Carmentis their way led them close by the temple of Janus." He points out that the temple of Janus stood outside the Carmental Gate (*Festus*, s.v. " Religioni," p. 358, ed. *Lindsay*). But in the narrative of *Livy* (ii. 49. 8), whom *Ovid* is closely following in the present passage, the expression " infelici via, dextro iano portae Carmentalis, profecti," seems conclusive in favour of keeping dextro iano in the present passage in the sense of " the right-hand arch of the gate." See *E. H. Alton*, " Ovidiana," *Classical Review*, xxxii. (1918), pp. 14-16.

202. hanc *AUDXMM* : hunc *Ehwald*.

- illa fama refert Fabios exisse trecentos :
 porta vacat culpa, sed tamen omen habet.
 205 ut celeri passu Cremeram tetigere rapacem
 (turbidus hibernis ille fluebat aquis),
 castra loco ponunt : dstrictis ensibus ipsi
 Tyrrhenum valido Marte per agmen eunt,
 non aliter quam cum Libyca de gente leones
 210 invadunt sparsos lata per arva greges.
 diffugiunt hostes inhonestaque volnera tergo
 accipiunt : Tusco sanguine terra rubet.
 sic iterum, sic saepe cadunt. ubi vincere aperte
 non datur, insidias armaque tecta parant.
 215 campus erat, campi claudebant ultima colles
 silvaeque montanas occulere apta feras.
 in medio paucos armentaque rara relinquunt,
 cetera virgultis abdita turba latet.
 ecce velut torrens undis pluvialibus auctus
 220 aut nive, quae Zephyro victa tepente fluit,
 per sata perque vias fertur nec, ut ante solebat,
 riparum clausas margine finit aquas :
 sic Fabii vallem latis discursibus implent,
 quodque vident, sternunt, nec metus alter inest.
 225 quo ruitis, generosa domus ? male creditis hosti :
 simplex nobilitas, perfida tela cave !

203. Lines 203, 204 are wanting in *A* and some of the inferior manuscripts : they are inserted by a later hand at the foot of the page in *U*. They were bracketed by Gierig and Paley and omitted by Merkel in his first edition. In his third edition Merkel brackets 196, 199, 202, 203, 204. Riese contents himself with omitting 204, which is wanting in *D* as well as in *AU*. It is bracketed by Davies. In his second edition Peter omitted verses 203 and 204, but in his fourth edition he retains and defends them. Line 203 is indispensable : the mention of the march-out of the Fabii by the Carmental Gate is necessary to explain the allusion to the ominous character of the gate ; for without that mention the allusion is pointless. Housman would omit verses 199 and 204 and transpose verse 200 after 203, comparing *Livy* ii. 49. 4. Thus the passage would run :

una domus vires et onus susceperat urbis :
 sumunt gentiles arma professa manus.
 Carmentis portae dextro est via proxima Iano :
 ire per hanc noli, quisquis es ; omen habet.
 illa fama refert Fabios exisse trecentos,
 e quis dux fieri quilibet aptus erat.

In this way we are rid of two insipid and superfluous lines, and both sense and grammar are improved ; for v. 204 is pointless, and in v. 200 the plural quis

ominous. By it, the rumour runs, the three hundred Fabii went forth. No blame attaches to the gate, but still 'tis ominous. When at quick pace they reached the rushing Cremera (it flowed turbid with winter rain) they pitched their camp on the spot, and with drawn swords broke through the Tyrrhenian array right valiantly, even as lions of the Libyan breed attack herds scattered through spacious fields. The foemen flee dispersed, stabbed in the back with wounds dishonourable: with Tuscan blood the earth is red. So yet again, so oft they fall. When open victory was denied them, they set an ambush of armed men in wait. A plain there was, bounded by hills and forest, where the mountain beasts could find 'commodious lair. In the midst the foe left a few of their number and some scattered herds: the rest of the host lurked hidden in the thickets. Lo, as a torrent, swollen by rain or snow which the warm West Wind has melted, sweeps across the cornfields, across the roads, nor keeps its waters pent within the wonted limit of its banks, so the Fabii rushed here and there broadcast about the vale; all that they saw they felled; no other fear they knew. Whither away, ye scions of an illustrious house? 'Tis ill to trust the foe. O noble hearts and simple, beware of treacherous blades! By

referring to the singular miles in v. 199 is awkward. Housman's emendation of the passage may well be right, but I have allowed the vulgate to stand, if only to keep the traditional number and order of the lines for convenience of reference.

205. tenuere (for tetigere) two \bar{S} .

206. turbidus $AUD\bar{X}Mm$: turgidus in some MSS. according to Heinsius, in none according to Merkel.

207. districtis AM^2m^1 : districtis $UD\bar{X}M^1m^2$. sensibus (for ensibus) A . ipm $AUDMm^2$: isti Xm^1 .

209. gente AU and many \bar{S} : rupe $DXMm$: caute Postgate. With gens in the sense of "breed" applied to lions compare Fasti iv. 711, "gens haec," applied to the breed of foxes.

214. tecta $A^2UD\bar{X}Mm$: recta A^1 : caeca (as variant) one \bar{S} .

215. cingebant (for claudabant) a few \bar{S} .

216. oculere apta AUM^2m^1 (corrected): oculere alta X : oculit alta M^2m^3 : oculit apta D .

217. rara $AUDM^1m^2$: pauca $X.M^2m^1$.

219. auctus $AUXm$: actus DM .

220. tepente AU^2DMm^1 : repente U^2Xm^2 .

223. vallem latis $AUDM$: latis vallem Xm .

224. quodque $AUD\bar{X}Mm$: quosque some \bar{S} . sternunt $AUD\bar{X}^2M$: spernunt X^2m^3C (the original reading of m is blotted out).

225. creditis $AUDMm^3$: creditur Xm^1 . hosti $AUD\bar{X}M$: hostis m .

- fraude perit virtus : in apertos undique campos
 prosiliunt hostes et latus omne tenent.
 quid faciant pauci contra tot milia fortes ?
 230 quidve, quod in misero tempore restet, habent ?
 sicut aper longe silvis Laurentibus actus
 fulmineo celeres dissipat ore canes,
 mox tamen ipse perit, sic non moriuntur inulti
 volneraque alterna dantque feruntque manu.
 235 una dies Fabios ad bellum miserat omnes :
 ad bellum missos perdidit una dies.
 ut tamen Herculae superessent semina gentis,
 credibile est ipsos consuluisse deos ;
 nam puer impubes et adhuc non utilis armis
 240 unus de Fabia gente relictus erat,
 scilicet ut posses olim tu, Maxime, nasci,
 cui res cunctando restituenda foret.

- Continuata loco tria sidera, Corvus et Anguis
 et medius Crater inter utrumque iacet.
 245 Idibus illa latent, oriuntur nocte sequenti.
 quae tibi cur tria sint tam sociata, canam.
 forte Iovi Phoebus festum sollemne parabat
 (non faciet longas fabula nostra moras) :
 " i, mea " dixit " avis, ne quid pia sacra moretur,
 250 et tenuem vivis fontibus adfer aquam."
 corvus inauratum pedibus cratera recurvis
 tollit et aërium pervolat altus iter.
 stabat adhuc duris ficus densissima pomis :
 temptat eam rostro ; non erat apta legi.
 255 inmemor imperii sedisse sub arbore fertur,
 dum fierent tarda dulcia poma mora.
 iamque satur nigris longum rapit unguibus hydrum
 ad dominumque redit fictaque verba refert :

229. faciant *AUXMm* : facerent *D* : facient *three* 5.

230. restet *A²UJ²XM²m²* : restat *A¹M²m¹* : praestet *D¹*. habent
U(corrected)*XM²m²* : habet *m¹* : adest *ADAM²*.

231. fulvis (for silvis) *Riese* (conjecture). laurentibus *X¹m¹* : latratibus
AUDX²M²m² : latrantibus *some* 5, *Riese* (comparing *Ovid*, *Metamorph.* viii.

344, "latrantes," which, however, qualifies canes in the preceding line). actus
DMm : auctus *AUX*. 234. alterna *UDX²M²m²* : alternas *A*.

235. miserat *AUDX²M²m²* : propulit *X¹* : pertulit *m²*.

236. perdidit *AUXMm* : abstulit *D*.

fraud is valour vanquished : from every hand the foe leaps forth into the open plain, and every side they hold. What can a handful of the brave do against so many thousands ? Or where can they look for help in such extremity ? As a boar, hunted afar from the Laurentine woods, scatters the 5 swift hounds with thunderous snout, but soon himself is slain, so do they die not unavenged, giving and taking wounds alternately. One day sent forth to war the Fabii all : one day undid all that were sent to war. Yet may we believe that the gods themselves took thought to save the 10 seed of the Herculean house ; for a boy under age, too young to bear arms, was left alone of all the Fabian clan, to the end, no doubt, that thou, Maximus, mightest one day be born to save the commonwealth by biding time.

XVI. KAL. MART. 14th.

Three constellations are grouped together—the Raven, the 15 Snake, and the Bowl, which lies midway between the other two. On the Ides they are invisible : they rise the following night. Why the three are so closely linked together, I will tell to thee in verse. It chanced that Phoebus was preparing a solemn feast for Jupiter : my tale shall not waste time. 20 “Go, my bird,” said Phoebus, “that naught may delay the pious rites, and bring a little water from running springs.” The raven caught up a gilded bowl in his hooked claws and flew aloft on his airy journey. A fig-tree stood loaded with fruit still unripe : the raven tried it with his beak, but it was 25 not fit to gather. Unmindful of his orders he perched, ’tis said, under the tree to wait till the fruit should sweeten lingeringly. And when at last he ate his fill, he snatched a long water-snake in his black talons, and returning to his master brought

239. nam *AUXM* : iam *D*.

244. iacet *m¹C*(as variant)*S* : latet *AUDXMM²* : latent *Ekwald-Lery* : nitet *Bentley, Riese*. See the *Commentary* (vol. ii. p. 326).

246. tibi *AUDX¹Mm¹* : sibi *m²*. sint *AUDMM²* : sunt *X*. tam sociata *AUDXM* : consociata *BC⁵*.

249. pia *AUDXMM²* : sine *m¹*. moretur *AUDX²* : morentur *X¹Mm*.

250. adfer *A* : affer *UDXM*.

252. aerium *ADXM* : aetherium *U*.

254. temptat *AUDXM* : tentat *M*.

257. rapit *AUDXMM¹* : capit *m²*.

258. redit *AUDX²Mm¹* : rapit *X¹m²*

- " hic mihi causa morae, vivarum obsessor aquarum :
 hic tenuit fontes officiumque meum."
 " addis " ait " culpae mendacia," Phoebus " et audes
 fatidicum verbis fallere velle deum ?
 at tibi, dum lactens haerebit in arbore ficus,
 de nullo gelidae fonte bibentur aquae."
 dixit, et antiqui monumenta perennia facti,
 Anguis, Avis, Crater sidera iuncta micant.

- Tertia post Idus nudos aurora Lupercos
 aspicit, et Fauni sacra bicornis eunt.
 dicite, Pierides, sacrorum quae sit origo,
 attigerint Latias unde petita domos.
 Pana deum pecoris veteres coluisse feruntur
 Arcades : Arcadiis plurimus ille iugis.
 testis erit Pholoë, testes Stymphalides undae,
 quique citis Ladon in mare currit aquis,
 cinctaque pinetis nemoris iuga Nonacrini,
 altaque Cyllene Parrhasiaeque nives.
 Pan erat armenti, Pan illic numen equarum ;
 munus ob incolumes ille ferebat oves.
 transtulit Evander silvestria numina secum ;
 hic, ubi nunc urbs est, tum locus urbis erat.
 inde deum colimus, devectaque sacra Pelasgis
 flamen adhuc prisco more Dialis obit.
 cur igitur currant, et cur (sic currere mos est)
 nuda ferant posita corpora veste, rogas ?
 ipse deus velox discurrere gaudet in altis
 montibus et subitas concipit ipse fugas ;
 ipse deus nudus nudos iubet ire ministros,
 nec satis ad cursus commoda vestis erat.

262. fatidicum *UDX^mM* : fastidicum *A*.

263. lactens *A¹UDX^mM* : lactans *A¹*.

264. bibentur *AUDX^mM* : bibantur *a few S*.

265. perennia *ADX^mM* : patentia (*P*) *U*.

268. sacra *AUD^mM* : facta *X*. eunt *AXD¹M^m* : crunt *UD¹m¹*.

273. erit *AUD^mM* : erat *X⁵*.

274. aquis *UDX¹Alm* : aquas *A*.

276. cyllene *m¹* : cillene *X¹* : troezenae *AUm¹* : trozene *X¹* : troezenae *D* : troezeniae *M¹* : traicene *M¹* : tricene *Merkel¹* (conjecture).

277. equarum *UXm¹* : aquarum *AD^mM¹*.

280. tum *AU* : tunc *DX^mM*.

281, 282. These two lines are omitted in *U*, but added by a later hand at the foot of the page.

back a lying tale : " This snake was the cause of my delay : he blocked the living water : he kept the spring from flowing and me from doing my duty." " You aggravate your fault," quoth Phoebus, " by your lies, and dare attempt to cheat the god of prophecy by fibs ? But as for you, you shall drink 5 cool water from no spring until the figs upon the tree grow juicy." He spake, and for a perpetual memorial of this ancient incident the constellations of the Snake, the Bird, and the Bowl now sparkle side by side.

XV. KAL. 15th.

The third morn after the Ides beholds the naked Luperci, 10 and then, too, come the rites of two-horned Faunus. Declare, Pierian Muses, the origin of the rites, and from what quarter they were fetched and reached our Latin homes. The Arcadians of old are said to have worshipped Pan, the god of cattle, him who haunts the Arcadian ridges. Witness Mount 15 Pholoe, witness the Stymphalian waters, and the Ladon that seaward runs with rapid current : witness the ridges of the Nonacrine grove begirt with pinewoods : witness high Cyllene and the Parrhasian snows. There Pan was the deity of herds, and there, too, of mares ; he received gifts 20 for keeping safe the sheep. Evander brought with him across the sea his woodland deities ; where now the city stands, there was then naught but the city's site. Hence we worship the god, and the Flamen Dialis still performs in the olden way the rites brought hither by the Pelasgians. You 25 ask, Why then do the Luperci run ? and why do they strip themselves and bear their bodies naked, for so it is their wont to run ? The god himself loves to scamper, fleet of foot, about the high mountains, and he himself takes suddenly to flight. The god himself is nude and bids his ministers go 30 nude : besides, raiment sorted not well with running. The

282. adhuc three 5 : ad haec *AUDX¹M¹m²* : ab hoc *M²m¹5*. obit Bentley, Madvig (*Adversaria* ii. 106, reading adhuc for ad haec) : erit *A* (corrected) *DM²* : erat *UλM¹m* : cat or udit Heinsius : agit Burman.

285, 286. These two lines are wanting in X. In m they are added by a later hand in the margin.

286. concipit *AUM¹m²* : conspicit *M²* : concitat *Dm¹*. ipse *AUM²m²* : ille *DM¹m¹*. fugas *AUMm²* : seras *Dm¹BC5*.

287. ire *AUm¹* : esse *DXMm²*.

288. cursus *AUXMm* : cursum *D*. erat *AU²DXMm* : erit *U¹*.

- ante Iovem genitum terras habuisse feruntur
 290 Arcades, et luna gens prior illa fuit.
 vita feris similis, nullos agitata per usus :
 artis adhuc expers et rude volgus erat.
 pro domibus frondes norant, pro frugibus herbas,
 nectar erat palmis hausta duabus aqua.
 295 nullus anhelabat sub adunco vomere taurus,
 nulla sub imperio terra colentis erat :
 nullus adhuc erat usus equi, se quisque ferebat :
 ibat ovis lana corpus amicta sua.
 sub Iove durabant et corpora nuda gerebant
 300 docta graves imbres et tolerare Notos.
 nunc quoque detecti referunt monumenta vetusti
 moris et antiquas testificantur opes.
 sed cur praecipue fugiat velamina Faunus,
 traditur antiqui fabula plena ioci.
 305 forte comes dominae iuvenis Tiryntius ibat :
 vidit ab excelso Faunus utrumque iugo.
 vidit et incaluit, " montana " que " numina," dixit
 " nil mihi vobiscum est : hic meus ardor erit."
 ibat odoratis humeros perfusa capillis
 310 Maconis aurato conspicienda sinu :
 aurea pellebant tepidos umbracula soles,
 quae tamen Herculeae sustinuerunt manus.
 iam Bacchi nemus et Tìoli vineta tenebat,
 Hesperos et fusco roscidus ibat equo.
 315 antra subit tofis laqueata et pumice vivo ;
 garrulus in primo limine rivus erat.
 dumque parant epulas potandaque vina ministri,
 cultibus Alciden instruit illa suis.
 dat tenuis tunicas Gaetulo murice tinctas,
 320 dat teretem zonam, qua modo cincta fuit.
 ventre minor zona est ; tunicarum vincla relaxat,
 ut posset magnas exeruisse manus.

291. feris similis *AUDM* : ferae similis *X* : feris silvis *m*¹ : fere silvis *m*².

299. sub iove *AU²DXMm* : se quoque *U*¹.

302. antiquas *AU²DXMm* : antiquae *U*¹.

304. plena ioci *AUDX²Mm*² : prima loci *m*¹.

306. iugo *UDX¹m*¹ : loco *AX²Mm*².

311. tepidos *AUDX²m* : rapidos *M*².

313. iam bacchi nemus et *AUDX²Mm* ; iamque nemus bacchi tmoli *S* and

Arcadians are said to have possessed their land before the birth of Jove, and that folk is older than the moon. Their life was like that of beasts, unprofitably spent ; artless as yet and raw was the common herd. Leaves did they use for houses, herbs for corn : water scooped up in two hollows of 5 the hands to them was nectar. No bull panted under the weight of the bent ploughshare : no land was under the dominion of the husbandman : there was as yet no use for horses, every man carried his own weight : the sheep went clothed in its own wool. Under the open sky they lived 10 and went about naked, inured to heavy showers and rainy winds. Even to this day the unclad ministers recall the memory of the olden custom and attest what comforts the ancients knew.

But to explain why Faunus should particularly eschew 15 the use of drapery a merry tale is handed down from days of old. As chance would have it, the Tirynthian youth was walking in the company of his mistress ; Faunus saw them both from a high ridge. He saw and burned. " Ye mountain elves," quoth he, " I'm done with you. Yon shall be 20 my true flame." As the Maconian damsel tripped along, her scented locks streamed down her shoulders ; her bosom shone resplendent with golden braid. A golden parasol kept off the sun's warm beams ; and yet it was the hands of Hercules that bore it up. Now had she reached the grove of 25 Bacchus and the vineyards of Tmolus, and dewy Hesperus rode on his dusky steed. She passed within a cave, whereof the fretted roof was all of tufa and of living rock, and at the mouth there ran a babbling brook. While the attendants were making ready the viands and the wine for the wassail, 30 she arrayed Alcides in her own garb. She gave him gauzy tunics in Gaetulian purple dipped ; she gave him the dainty girdle, which but now had girt her waist. For his belly the girdle was too small ; he undid the clasps of the tunics to

many editions : iam Bacchea, nē mus Tmoli, vineta *Heinsius*. tmoli *UXM* : thmoli *Dm* : molli *A*¹ : moli *A*². tenebat *AUXm* : tenebant *DM*.

317. potandaque *AUXDm* : portandaque *D*.

318. instruit *AUMm*² : induit *DXm*¹*BC*.

321. vincla relaxat *AUXMm* : vincula laxat *D*.

322. posset *AUXMm* : possit *Σ*. magnas *AUDXMm* : vastas a few *Σ*.

- fregerat armillas non illa ad brachia factas,
 scindebant magni vincula parva pedes.
 325 ipsa capit clavamque gravem spoliūque leonis
 conditaque in pharetra tela minora sua.
 sic epulis functi sic dant sua corpora somno,
 et positis iuxta secubuerē toris ;
 causa, repertori vitis quia sacra parabant,
 330 quae facerent pure, cum foret orta dies.
 noctis erat medium. quid non amor improbus audet ?
 roscida per tenebras Faunus ad antra venit,
 utque videt comites somno vinoque solutos,
 spem capit in dominis esse soporis idem.
 335 intrat, et huc illuc temerarius errat adulter
 et praefert cautas subsequiturque manus.
 venerat ad strati captata cubilia lecti
 et felix prima sorte futurus erat.
 ut tetigit fulvi saetis hirsuta leonis
 340 vellera, pertimuit sustinuitque manum
 attonitusque metu rediit, ut saepe viator
 turbatus viso rettulit angue pedem.
 inde tori, qui iunctus erat, velamina tangit
 mollia, mendaci decipiturque nota.
 345 ascendit spondaque sibi propiore recumbit.
 et tumidum cornu durius inguen erat.
 interea tunicas ora subducit ab ima :
 horrebant densis aspera crura pilis.
 cetera temptantem subito Tirynthius heros
 350 reppulit : e summo decedit ille toro.
 fit sonus, inclamat comites et lumina poscit
 Maeonis : inlatis ignibus acta patent.
 ille gemit lecto graviter deiectus ab alto,
 membraque de dura vix sua tollit humo.
 355 ridet et Alcides et qui videre iacentem,
 ridet amatorem Lyda puella suum.

324. scindebant *UDX¹Mm* : scindebat *A*.

327. epulis functi *AUXMm* : epuli functis *D*.

328. et *AUDXm* : sic *M*. secubuerē *U²DXMm* : sic cubuere *U¹* : succubuerē *A*.

329. quia *AUMm²* and many *S* : pia *DXm¹*.

333. solutos *AUDm¹* : sepultos *XMm²*.

335. et huc *UDXm* : adhuc *A*.

338. sorte *A²UDXm* : forte *A¹*.

thrust out his big hands. The bracelets he had broken, not made to fit those arms; his big feet split the little shoes.* She herself took the heavy club, the lion's skin, and the lesser weapons stored in their quiver. In such array they feasted, in such array they resigned themselves to slumber, and lay 5 down apart on beds set side by side; the reason was that they were preparing to celebrate in all purity, when day should dawn, a festival in honour of the discoverer of the vine. 'Twas midnight. What durst not wanton love essay? Through the gloom came Faunus to the dewy cave, and 10 when he saw the attendants in drunken slumber sunk, he conceived a hope that their masters might be as sound asleep. He entered and, rash lecher, he wandered to and fro; with hands outstretched before him he felt his cautious way. At last he reached, by groping the beds, where they were spread, 15 and at his first venture fortune smiled on him. When he touched the skin, all shagged with bristles, of the tawny lion, he was terrified, and stayed his hand, and thunderstruck recoiled, as oft at sight of a snake a wayfarer starts back dismayed. Next he touched the soft drapery of the neigh- 20 bouring couch, and its deceptive touch beguiled him. He mounted and laid him down on the nearer side. . . . There he encountered legs that bristled with thick rough hair. When he would have proceeded further, the Tirynthian hero thrust him away of a sudden, and down he fell from the top of the 25 bed. There was a crash. The Maeonian damsel called for her attendants and demanded a light: torches were brought in, and the murder was out. After his heavy fall from the high couch Faunus groaned and scarce could lift his limbs from the hard ground. Alcides laughed, and so did all who saw him 30 lying; the Lydian wench laughed also at her lover. Thus

339. fulvi *AU³DXMm*: fulvis *U¹*. 340. sustinuitque manum *AU¹XM*: substinuitque manus *m¹*: continuitque manus *D*.

341. metu *UDXMm*: manu *A*. rediit *AUDMm³*: riguit *Xm¹*. ut *AU¹D*: ceu *U³XMm*. sepe or vepre (for saepe) *Heinsius*.

342. turbatus *Xm³C⁵*: turbatum *A³UDMm³*: turbitum *A¹*.

347. interea tunicas *AUXMm*: iam tenues tunicas *D*.

349. subito *AU⁵*: cubito *DXMm*.

351. inelamat *Xm*: inelamant *AUDM*. comites *AUDXM¹m*: omnes *M³*. poscit *A³UDXMm³*: poscunt *m¹* and three *C*: posco *A¹*.

352. inlatis *A*: illatis *UDXMm*.

353. lecto graviter *AUDMm*: graviter lecto *X*.

- veste deus lusus fallentes lumina vestes
 non amat et nudos ad sua sacra vocat.
 adde peregrinis causas, mea Musa, Latinas,
 360 inque suo noster pulvere currat equus.
 cornipedi Fauno caesa de more capella
 venit ad exiguas turba vocata dapes.
 dumque sacerdotes veribus transuta salignis
 exta parant, medias sole tenente vias,
 365 Romulus et frater pastoralisque iuventus
 solibus et campo corpora nuda dabant ;
 caestibus et iaculis et misso pondere saxi
 brachia per lusus experienda dabant :
 pastor ab excelso " per devia rura iuencos,
 370 Romule, praedones, et Reme," dixit " agunt."
 longum erat armari : diversis exit uterque
 partibus ; occursum praeda recepta Remi.
 ut rediit, veribus stridentia detrahit exta
 atque ait " haec certe non nisi victor edet."
 375 dicta facit Fabiique simul. venit inritus illuc
 Romulus et mensas ossaque nuda videt ;
 risit et indoluit Fabios potuisse Remumque
 vincere, Quintilios non potuisse suos.
 fama manet facti : posito velamine currunt,
 380 et memorem famam, quod bene cessit, habet.
 forsitan et quaeras, cur sit locus ille Lupercal,
 quaeve diem tali nomine causa notet.
 Silvia Vestalis caelestia semina partu
 ediderat patruo regna tenente suo.
 385 is iubet auferri parvos et in amne necari :
 quid facis ? ex istis Romulus alter erit.
 iussa recusantes peragunt lacrimosa ministri,
 flent tamen et geminos in loca iussa ferunt.

358. sacra *AUDXMM*² *m* : festa *M*¹.

359. peregrinis *AUDM* : peregrinae *Am*²

360. suo *U²Xm* : tuo *AU¹DM* and many *S*.

361. cornipedi *UDXMM*¹ : cornipede *A* : cervipedi *m*².

363. transuta *ADXMM*² : transsuta *U²m*¹ : transfixa *m*² : transficta *M*¹.

364. tenente *AUDMM*² : fovente *Xm*¹.

367. caestibus *Mm*² : cestibus *U²* and apparently most *MSS.* : vectibus *X¹m¹C⁵* : vestibibus *AU¹DX²*. misso *AUD* : missi *XMM*

368. lusus *AUDXMM* : ludos some *S*.

370. et reme *AUDXMM*² : cripe *m¹BC* and two *S*.

betrayed by vesture, the god loves not garments which deceive the eye, and he bids his worshippers come naked to his rites.

To foreign reasons add, my Muse, some Latin ones, and let my steed career in his own dusty course. A she-goat had 5 been sacrificed as usual to hoof-footed Faunus, and a crowd had come by invitation to partake of the scanty repast. While the priests were dressing the inwards, stuck on willow spits, the sun then riding in mid heaven, Romulus and his brother and the shepherd youth were exercising their naked 10 bodies in the sunshine on the plain; they tried in sport the strength of their arms by the gloves and javelins and by hurling ponderous stones. Cried a shepherd from a height, "O Romulus and Remus, robbers are driving off the bullocks across the pathless lands." To arm would have been tedious; 15 out went the brothers both in opposite directions; but 'twas Remus who fell in with the freebooters and brought the booty back. On his return he drew the hissing inwards from the spits and said, "None but the victor surely shall eat these." He did as he had said, he and the Fabii together. Thither 20 came Romulus foiled, and saw the empty tables and bare bones. He laughed, and grieved that Remus and the Fabii could have conquered when his own Quintilii could not. The fame of the deed endures: they run stripped, and the success of that day enjoys a lasting fame. 25

Perhaps you may also ask why that place is called the Lupercal, and what is the reason for denoting the day by such a name. Silvia, a Vestal, had given birth to heavenly babes, what time her uncle sat upon the throne. He ordered the infant boys to be carried away and drowned in the river. 30 Rash man! one of those babes will yet be Romulus. Reluctantly his servants carry out the mournful orders. Yet they weep as they bear the twins to the place appointed. It

372. recepta *AUXMm*: retenta *D*

375. irritus *A*: irritus *UDXMm*.

380. quod *AU'DX¹M²m¹*: qui *X²M¹m²BC*. cessit *D*: gessit *AUXMmBC*. habet *AUXMm*: habent *D*

381. quaeres *AU'DM¹*: quaeris *X*. lupercal *AUXMm*: lupercar *D*.

382. diem *AU'DXm¹*: locum *A²M²*. diem . . . notet *AUXm*: notet . . . diem *D*. tali *AU'DX²M²m²*: tanto *X¹m¹*.

383. silvia *AUDXM*: ilia *a few* 5. caelestia *AUXMm*: caelestis *D*. partu *AUXMm*: martis *D*. 388. iussa *AUDM²*: sola *Xm¹*.

- Albula, quem Tiberim mersus Tiberinus in undis
 390 reddidit, hibernis forte tumebat aquis :
 hic, ubi nunc fora sunt, lintres errare videres,
 quaque iacent valles, Maxime Circe, tuac.
 huc ubi venerunt (neque enim procedere possunt
 longius), ex illis unus et alter ait :
 395 " at quam sunt similes ! at quam formosus uterque !
 plus tamen ex illis iste vigoris habet.
 si genus arguitur voltu, nisi fallit imago,
 nescio quem in vobis suspicor esse deum—
 at si quis vestrae deus esset originis auctor,
 400 in tam praecipiti tempore ferret opem ;
 ferret opem certe, si non ope mater egeret,
 quae facta est uno mater et orba die.
 nata simul, moritura simul, simul ite sub undas
 corpora ! " desierat deposuitque sinu.
 405 vagierunt ambo pariter : sensisse putares.
 hi redeunt udis in sua tecta genis.
 sustinet impositos summa cavus alveus unda :
 heu quantum fati parva tabella tulit !
 alveus in limo silvis adpulsus opacis
 410 paulatim fluvio deficiente sedet.
 arbor erat : remanent vestigia, quaeque vocatur
 Rumina nunc ficus, Romula ficus erat.
 venit ad expositos (mirum !) lupa feta gemellos :
 quis credat pueris non nocuisse feram ?
 415 non nocuisse parum est, prodest quoque : quos lupa
 nutrit,
 perdere cognatae sustinuere manus.

389. undis *AUDMm*¹ : unda *Xm*¹.

393. huc *UDM* : hic *AXm*². neque enim *AMm*¹ : nec enim *DXm*² : neque iam *U*.

395. at . . . at *U*¹ : ah . . . ah *X* : at . . . ah *A* : ha . . . ha *M* : ah quam sunt similes quam sunt *D*.

396. illis *Xm*¹*B* : istis *AUDMm*² and most mss.

397. voltu *A* : vultu *UXMm* : visu *D*.

398. quem in vobis *Xm*¹ : quem e vobis *ADMm*² : quem ex vobis some *S* : quem vobis four *S*. suspicor *AUDXm* : suspicer a few *S*. deum *AUDXm* : patrem Bentley. The god whom the speaker surmises to be in the twins is of course Mars, their putative father. In writing the note in the Commentary (vol. ii. p. 367), I accepted the reading Nescio quem vobis suspicer esse deum on the strength of Ekwald-Levy's statement that such is the reading of *A*. But in my photograph of that manuscript the reading is quite clearly Nescio quem e vobis suspicor esse deum. The o in suspicor appears, indeed, to

chanced that the Albula, which took the name of Tiber from Tiberinus, drowned in its waves, was swollen with winter rain: where now the forums are, and where the valley of the Circus Maximus lies, you might see boats floating about. Hither when they were come, for farther they could not go, 5 one or other of them said: "But how like they are! how beautiful is each! Yet of the two this one has more vigour. If lineage may be inferred from features, unless appearances deceive me, I fancy that some god is in you—but if some god were indeed the author of your being, he would come to 10 your rescue in so perilous an hour; surely he would come to the rescue, unless the mother needed his help, she who has borne and lost her children in a single day. Ye bodies, born together to die together, together pass beneath the waves!" He ended, and from his bosom he laid down 15 the twins. Both squalled alike: you would fancy they understood. With wet cheeks the bearers wended their homeward way. The hollow ark in which the babes were laid supported them on the surface of the water: ah me! how big a fate the little plank upbore! The ark drifted 20 towards a shady wood, and, as the water gradually shoaled, it grounded on the mud. There was a tree (traces of it still remain), which is now called the Rumina fig-tree, but was once the Romulan fig-tree. A she-wolf which had cast her whelps came, wondrous to tell, to the abandoned twins: 25 who could believe that the brute would not harm the boys? Far from harming, she helped them; and they whom ruthless kinsfolk would have killed with their own hands were

be written by a later hand, but the preposition e is unambiguous and seems to belong to the original reading. The MSS. which omit the preposition (e, ex, or in) are apparently few and unimportant. Yet the preposition is omitted by a number of editors. In his third (second Teubner) edition Merkel reads quem venis, the meaning of which I am unable to fathom. If we accept the reading e vobis, the meaning will be, "I suspect that one of you is a god," in allusion to the future apotheosis of Romulus in the character of Quirinus. The passage in the Commentary (l.c.) should be corrected by the present note written after the Commentary had been passed for press.

404. desiderat A^2 $X^1 M^1$ subierat A^1 : siluerat D . sinu $A^1 D^1 m^1$: simul $X^1 M^1 m^2$.

405. vagierunt $A U m^2$: vagierant $D X^2 M^1 m^1$: audierant $X^1 m^2$.

408. parva $A U X^1 M^1$: summa D .

409. adpulsus A : appulsus $U D M^1 m^2$: impulsus $X^1 M^1 m^1$.

412. rumina nunc $U m^1$: romula nunc $A D X^1 M^1 m^2$: rumina non m^2 .

416. perdere $A U D X^1 M^1$: prodere two or three S .

- constitit et cauda teneris blanditur alumnis
 et fingit lingua corpora bina sua.
 Marte satos scires : timor afruit, ubera ducunt
 420 nec sibi promissi lactis aluntur ope.
 illa loco nomen fecit, locus ipse Lupercis.
 magna dati nutrix praemia lactis habet
 quid vetat Arcadio dictos a monte Lupercos ?
 Faunus in Arcadia templa Lycaeus habet.
 425 nupta, quid expectas ? non tu pollentibus herbis
 nec prece nec magico carmine mater eris ;
 excipe fecundae patienter verbera dextrae,
 iam socer optatum nomen habebit avi.
 nam fuit illa dies, dura cum sorte maritae
 430 reddebant uteri pignora rara sui.
 " quid mihi " clamabat " prodest rapuisse Sabinas,"
 Romulus (hoc illo sceptrum tenente fuit)
 " si mea non vires, sed bellum iniuria fecit ?
 utilius fuerat non habuisse nurus."
 435 monte sub Esquilio multis incaeduus annis
 Iunonis magnae nomine lucus erat.
 huc ubi venerunt, pariter nuptaeque virique
 suppliciter posito procubere genu,
 cum subito motae tremuere cacumina silvae
 440 et dea per lucos mira locuta suos :
 " Italidas matres " inquit " sacer hircus inito."
 obstipuit dubio territa turba sono.
 augur erat (nomen longis intercidit annis,
 nuper ab Etrusca venerat exul humo),
 445 ille caprum mactat, iussae sua terga puellae
 pellicibus exsectis percutienda dabant.

418. fugit *U¹m²*: lingit *XM¹m¹*: lambit *D*.

419. ducunt *AUDXM¹m¹*: sugunt *M²m²*. But ducunt is supported by *Ovid*, *Tristia* i. 8. 43 sq., and *Juvenal* xii. 8 sq.

420. nec *AXDXM¹*: et *U¹m²*.
 421. illa *ADXM¹m¹*: ipsa *U¹m²*. fecit *UDXM¹m*: facit *A*. lupercis *AUDXM²*: lupercal *M¹m¹*.

423, 424. These two lines are written in the margin of *m* by a later hand.

423. quid *AUDM¹m²*: quis *XM²m¹C*. vetat *AUDX¹m¹C*: vetas *M*.

425. quid expectas *UDXM¹m*: que despectas *A*. non tu *AUXM¹m*: quae nec *D*. 427. patienter *UXM¹m*: patienter *A*: patientia *D*.

428. optatum *ADXM²m²*: obtatum *U*: optati *m¹*. habebit *A²UDX¹m*: habebat *A¹M*. avi *UDXM¹m*: ait *A*.

432. illo *UDXM¹m*: ille *A*: ipso *M²*.

434. habuisse *AUXM¹m¹*: rapuisse *Dm²*.

suckled by a wolf! She halted and fawned on the tender babes with her tail, and licked into shape their two bodies with her tongue. You might know they were scions of Mars: fearless, they sucked her dugs and were fed on a supply of milk that was never meant for them. The she-⁵ wolf (*lupa*) gave her name to the place, and the place gave their name to the Luperci. Great is the reward the nurse has got for the milk she gave. Why should not the Luperci have been named after the Arcadian mountain? Lycaean Faunus has temples in Arcadia.

Thou bride, why tarry? Neither potent herbs, nor prayer, nor magic spells shall make of thee a mother; submit with patience to the blows dealt by a fruitful hand, soon will your husband's sire enjoy the wished-for name of grandsire. For there was a day when a hard lot ordained¹⁵ that wives but seldom gave their mates the pledges of the womb. Cried Romulus (for this befell when he was on the throne), "What boots it me to have ravished the Sabine women, if the wrong I did has brought me not strength but only war? Better it were our sons had never wed." Under²⁰ the Esquiline Mount a sacred grove, untouched by woodman's axe for many a year, went by the name of the great Juno. Hither when they had come, husbands and wives alike in supplication bowed the knee, when of a sudden the tops of the trees shook and trembled, and wondrous words the god-²⁵ dess spake in her own holy grove: "Let the sacred he-goat," said she, "go in to Italian matrons." At the ambiguous words the crowd stood struck with terror. There was a certain augur (his name has dropped out with the long years, but he had lately come an exile from the Etruscan land):³⁰ he slew a he-goat, and at his bidding the damsels offered their backs to be beaten with thongs cut from the hide.

435. esquilio *UX*: aesquilio *AM*: exquilio *mC*: esculco *D*. in-caedus *A*: incedus *U*: incidus *DXM*.

437. huc *AUDX²Mm²*: hic *A¹m¹*.

438. procubere *AUXM¹m*: succubere *DM²*.

441. italidas *AUDX¹m¹*: italicas *X²Mm²*. sacer hircus *AD*: sacer hyrcus *XMm²*: sacer yrcus *U*: caper hyrcus *m¹*: caper hirtus *Heinsius, Burman, and Gierig with several MSS.*

442. obstipuit *A*: obstupuit *UXMm*.

dubio *AUDXMm¹*: subito *m²*.

444. humo *A²UDXMm*: omo *A¹*.

445. puellae *AUDXMm*: maritae *a few S.*

- luna resumebat decimo nova cornua motu,
 virque pater subito nuptaque mater erat.
 gratia Lucinae ! dedit haec tibi nomina lucus,
 450 aut quia principium tu, dea, lucis habes.
 parce, precor, gravidis, facilis Lucina, puellis
 maturumque utero molliter aufer onus.
- orta dies fuerit, tu desine credere ventis :
 perdidit illius temporis aura fidem ;
 455 flamina non constant, et sex reserata diebus
 carceris Aeolii ianua lata patet.
 iam levis obliqua subsedit Aquarius urna :
 proximus aetheros excipe, Piscis, equos.
 te memorant fratremque tuum (nam iuncta micatis
 460 signa) duos tergo sustinuisse deos.
 terribilem quondam fugiens Typhona Dione,
 tunc cum pro caelo Iuppiter arma tulit,
 venit ad Euphraten comitata Cupidine parvo
 inque Palaestinae margine sedit aquae.
 465 populus et cannae riparum summa tenebant,
 spemque dabant salices hos quoque posse tegi.
 dum latet, insonuit vento nemus ; illa timore
 pallet et hostiles credit adesse manus,
 utque sinu tenuit natum, "succurrite, nymphae,
 470 et dis auxilium ferte duobus ! " ait.
 nec mora, prosiluit. pisces subiere gemelli :
 pro quo nunc dignum sidera munus habent.
 inde nefas ducunt genus hoc imponere mensis
 nec violant timidi piscibus ora Syri.

447. nova *AUXm* : nona *MD(ß)*. motu *AUDXm*¹ : cursu *M* : mense *m*².

450. habes *AUDX¹Mm*¹ : cras *X²m*².

451. parce *A¹UXDMm* : parte *A*¹.

452. maturumque *AUXMm* : maternumque *D*.

453. fuerit *A¹UDX²Mm*(corrected) : fuerat *A¹X¹*.

454. perdidit *AUDXMm* : prodidit *three* *5*.

456. lata *AUD¹XMm* : laxa *D*². *In favour of laxa Heinsius quoted "ianua laxa" in Ovid, Amores i. 8. 77, iii. 1. 46.*

457. levis *AUDXMm* : iovis *Merkel*².

458. protinus (for proximus) a few *5*.

459. micatis *AUXMm* : duorum *D*.

461. typhona *UXm* : tiphona *DM* : styphona *A*. *For the flight of Venus from Typhon and her transformation into a fish compare Manilius iv. 578 sqq., 800 sq.*

462. tunc *AUDMm*¹ : tum *Xm*¹.

When in her tenth circuit the moon was renewing her horns, the husband was suddenly made a father and the wife a mother. Thanks to Lucina! this name, goddess, thou didst take from the sacred grove (*lucus*), or because with thee is the fount of light (*lucis*). Gracious Lucina, spare, 5 I pray, women with child, and gently lift the ripe burden from the womb.

When that day has dawned, then trust no more the winds : at that season the breezes keep not faith ; fickle are the blasts, and for six days the door of the Aeolian gaol unbarred 10 stands open wide. Now the light Water-Carrier (Aquarius) sets with his tilted urn : next in turn do thou, O Fish, receive the heavenly steeds. They say that thou and thy brother (for ye are constellations that sparkle side by side) did support twain gods upon your backs. Once on a time 15 Dione, fleeing from the dreadful Typhon, when Jupiter bore arms in defence of heaven, came to the Euphrates, accompanied by the little Cupid, and sat down by the brink of the Palestinian water. Poplars and reeds crowned the top of the banks, and willows offered hope that the fugitives 20 also could find covert there. While she lay hid, the grove rustled in the wind. She turned pale with fear, and thought that bands of foes were near. Holding her child in her lap, " To the rescue, nymphs ! " she said, " and to two deities bring help ! " Without delay she sprang forward. Twin fish 25 received her on their backs, wherefore they now possess the stars, a guerdon meet. Hence scrupulous Syrians count it sin to serve up such fry upon the table, and will not defile their mouths with fish.

465. tenebant *AUXMm*¹ : tegebant *DXMm*².

466. salices *AUDMm*² : facies *Xm*¹. hos *AUDXMm*² : has *m*¹ : his *Riese*. tegi *UDXMm* : tesi *A*.

467. latet *AUDXMm*² : iacet *m*¹. insonuit *UDXMm*² : intonuit *m*¹ *Cs*¹ : insinuit *A*.

469. tenuit natum *AUXMm* : natum tenuit *D*.

471. gemelli *UDXMm* : gemellis *A*.

472. dignum sidera munus *Xm*¹ *BC* (sydera *Xm*¹) : dignum sidera nomen *U²M* : cernis sidera nomen *AU¹Dm*² : cerni sidera munus or coelum sidera munus *Heinsius* (who, however, accepted the reading dignum sidera munus) : inter sidera nomen *E. H. Alton* (Classical Review xxxii. (1918) p. 18). habent *UDXMm* : habet *A*.

474. nec violant *AUXMm*¹ : ne violent *Dm*².

- 475 proxima lux vacua est, at tertia dicta Quirino :
 qui tenet hoc nomen, Romulus ante fuit,
 sive quod hasta curis priscis est dicta Sabinis
 (bellicus a telo venit in astra deus),
 sive suum regi nomen posuere Quirites,
 480 seu quia Romanis iunxerat ille Cures.
 nam pater armipotens, postquam nova moenia vidit
 multaque Romulea bella peracta manu,
 "Iuppiter," inquit, "habet Romana potentia vires :
 sanguinis officio non eget illa mei.
 485 redde patri natum. quamvis intercidit alter,
 pro se proque Remo, qui mihi restat, erit.
 'unus erit, quem tu tolles in caerula caeli'
 tu mihi dixisti : sint rata dicta Iovis."
 Iuppiter adnuerat. nutu tremefactus uterque
 490 est polus, et caeli pondera movit Atlas.
 est locus, antiqui Capreae dixere paludem :
 forte tuis illic, Romule, iura dabas.
 sol fugit, et removent subeuntia nubila caelum,
 * et gravis effusus decedit imber aquis.
 495 hinc tonat, hinc missis abruptitur ignibus aether :
 fit fuga, rex patriis astra petebat equis.
 luctus erat, falsaeque patres in crimine caedis,
 haesissetque animis forsitan illa fides ;
 sed Proculus Longa veniebat Iulius Alba,
 500 lunaque fulgebat, nec facis usus erat,
 cum subito motu saepes tremuere sinistrae :
 rettulit ille gradus, horrueruntque comae.
 pulcher et humano maior trabeaque decorus
 Romulus in media visus adesse via
 505 et dixisse simul "prohibe lugere Quirites,
 nec violent lacrimis numina nostra suis ;

477. curis *U²X* : cures *AU¹* : quiris *DMm*.479. suum *Xm¹C* : suo *AUDM²*. 485. alter *UXMm* : altum *A*.487. in caerula *m¹* : in cerula *A* : in sidera *UDXm²* : ad sidera *M*.489. nutu *ACXMM* : motu *D*.490. polus *UDXMM* : populus *A*. movit *AUDXMM¹* : novit *m²* :
sensit *some S*. 491. capreae *ACXMM* : capream *two S*.492. tuis *AUDM²* : viris *Xm¹*. iura *UDXMM* : tura *A*.494. aquis *A²UDXMM* : aquas *A¹*.495. hinc tonat, hinc missis *AUXMM²* : hinc tonat et missis *D* : intonat
emissis *m¹*.

XIII KAL. 17th.

Next day is vacant, but the third is dedicated to Quirinus. He who owns this name was Romulus before, whether because the ancient Sabines called a spear *curis*, and by his weapon the warlike god won his place among the stars; or because the Quirites gave their own name to their king; or because he united Cures to Rome. For when the father, lord of arms, saw the new walls and the many wars waged by the hand of Romulus, "O Jupiter," he said, "the Roman power hath strength: it needs not the services of my offspring. To the sire give back the son. 10 Though one of the two has perished, the one who is left to me will suffice both for himself and for Remus. Thou thyself hast said to me that there will be one whom thou wilt exalt to the blue welkin. Let the word of Jupiter be kept." Jupiter nodded assent. At his nod both the poles shook, 15 and Atlas shifted the burden of the sky. There is a place which the ancients call the She-goat's Marsh. It chanced that there, Romulus, thou wast judging thy people. The sun vanished and rising clouds obscured the heaven, and there fell a heavy shower of rain in torrents. Then it 20 thundered, then the sky was riven by shooting flames. The people fled, and the king upon his father's steeds soared to the stars. There was mourning, and the senators were falsely charged with murder, and haply that suspicion might have stuck in the popular mind. But Julius Proculus was 25 coming from Alba Longa; the moon was shining, and there was no need of a torch, when of a sudden the hedges on his left shook and trembled. He recoiled and his hair bristled up. It seemed to him that Romulus, fair of aspect, in stature more than human, and clad in a goodly robe, 30 stood there in the middle of the road and said, "Forbid the Quirites to mourn, let them not profane my divinity by their

498. illa *AUDXMm*¹: ipsa *Mm*².

499. proculus *m*⁵: procul e *AUDM*: procul a *Xm*².

500. fulgebat *UXMm*¹*BC* and many *s*: surgebat *ADMm*².

501. motu *AUDXMm*: metu *A*¹. saepes tremuere *Am*²: sepes tremuere *UDX(in erasure)M*²: sepes sonuere *M*²: nubes crevere *m*¹*B*: nubes crepuere *C*.

502. horrueruntque *AU*: horruerantque *DXM*.

506. nec *A*: ne *UDXMm*. numina *UDXMm*: lumina *A*.

- tura ferant placentque novum pia turba Quirinum
 et patrias artes militiamque colant.”
 iussit et in tenues oculis evanuit auras ;
 510 convocat hic populos iussaque verba refert.
 templa deo fiunt, collis quoque dictus ab illo est,
 et referunt certi sacra paterna dies.
 lux quoque cur eadem Stultorum festa vocetur,
 accipe. parva quidem causa, sed apta subest.
 515 non habuit doctos tellus antiqua colonos :
 lassabant agiles aspera bella viros.
 plus erat in gladio quam curvo laudis aratro :
 neglectus domino pauca ferebat ager.
 farra tamèn veteres iaciebant, farra metebant,
 520 primitias Cereri farra resecta dabant.
 usibus admoniti flammis torrenda dederunt
 multaque peccato damna tulere suo.
 nam modo verrebant nigras pro farre favillas,
 nunc ipsas ignes corripuere casas ;
 525 facta dea est Fornax : laeti Fornace coloni
 orant, ut fruges temperet illa suas.
 curio legitimis nunc Fornacalia verbis
 maximus indicit nec stata sacra facit,
 inque foro, multa circum pendente tabella,
 530 signatur certa curia quaeque nota ;
 stultaque pars populi, quae sit sua curia, nescit,
 sed facit extrema sacra relata die.

Est honor et tumulis. Animas placate paternas
 parvaque in extinctas munera ferte pyras.

507. ferant placentque *AUDM* : ferat placetque *X*. novum *A²UDXMm* :
 nodum *A¹*. 508. colant *AUDMm²* : colat *Xm¹*.
 510. populos *AU¹DXMm¹* : populum *U²* : patres *m²*. iussaque
 verba *AUDM* : verbaque iussa *XmBC*.
 511. fiunt *AUDXMm* : faciunt *5*. ab illo est *A²UDXm* : ab illo *A¹M*.
 512. certi sacra paterna dies *AUXMm* : certa sacra paterna die *D*.
 514. subest *AUDXMm²* : fides *m¹*.
 515. doctos tellus *AM* : tellus doctos *UDXmBC*.
 520. resecta *UDMm²* : relecta *A* : secata *Xm¹*.
 523. nam *AUDXM¹m* : iam *M²*. pro *AUDXm* : sub *M*. farre
UDXMm : proferre (*for* pro farre) *A*.
 526. temperet illa *UDXMm* : temperat ipsa *A*.
 527. nunc *AUX* : tunc *DM*. fornacalia *AUXm²* : fornicalia *Dm¹*.
 530. certa *AUXMm* : caera *D*. nota *AUXMm* : sua *D*.
 532. relata *Dm¹BC* : relecta *AUXMm²*.
 533. placate *Heinsius* : placare *AUDXMm*.

tears. Bid the pious throng bring incense and propitiate the new Quirinus, and bid them cultivate the arts their fathers cultivated, the art of war." So he ordered, and from the other's eyes he vanished into thin air. Proculus called the peoples together and reported the words as he had been bid. Temples were built to the god, and the hill also was named after him, and the rites observed by our fathers come round on fixed days.

Learn also why the same day is called the Feast of Fools. The reason for the name is trifling but apt. The earth of 10 old was tilled by men unlearned: war's hardships wearied their active frames. More glory was to be won by the sword than by the curved plough; the neglected farm yielded its master but a small return. Yet spelt the ancients sowed, and spelt they reaped; of the cut spelt they offered the 15 first-fruits to Ceres. Taught by experience they toasted the spelt on the fire, and many losses they incurred through their own fault. For at one time they would sweep up black ashes instead of spelt, and at another time the fire caught the huts themselves. So they made the oven into 20 a goddess of that name (*Fornax*); delighted with her, the farmers prayed that she would temper the heat to the corn committed to her charge. At the present day the Prime Warden (*Curio Maximus*) proclaims in a set form of words the time for holding the Feast of Ovens (*Fornacalia*), and 25 he celebrates the rites at no fixed date; and round about the Forum hang many tablets, on which every ward has its own particular mark. The foolish part of the people know not which is their own ward, but hold the feast on the last day to which it can be postponed. 30

XII.-IX. KAL. 18th-21st.

Honour is paid, also, to the tombs. Appease the souls of your fathers and bring small gifts to the extinguished

534. *extinctas m¹(?) and two S: extractas AUDXMM². ferte m¹: ferre AUDXMM². The reading of lines 533, 534, which I have adopted, was advocated by Heinsius and accepted by Burman, Gierig, and W. Ramsay (Ovid Selections for the Use of Schools, pp. 38, 214). For the offerings at the extinguished pyres Heinsius compared Fasti v. 425-426 "Iam tamen extincto cineri sua dona ferebant, | compositique nepos busta piabat avi." The reading *extractas* in *m* is a correction: the original reading may have been *extinctas*, as reported by Heinsius and Merkel.*

- 535 parva petunt manes, pietas pro divite grata est
munere : non avidos Styx habet ima deos.
tegula porrectis satis est velata coronis
et sparsae fruges parcaque mica salis
inque mero mollita Ceres violaeque solutae :
540 haec habeat media testa relicta via.
nec maiora veto, sed et his placabilis umbra est :
adde preces positis et sua verba focis.
hunc morem Aeneas, pietatis idoneus auctor,
attulit in terras, iuste Latine, tuas ;
545 ille patris Genio sollemnia dona ferebat :
hinc populi ritus edidicere pios.
at quondam, dum longa gerunt pugnacibus armis
bella, Parentales deseruere dies.
non impune fuit ; nam dicitur omine ab isto
550 Roma suburbanis incaluisse rogis.
vix equidem credo : bustis exisse feruntur
et tacitae questi tempore noctis avi,
perque vias urbis latosque ululasse per agros
deformes animas, volgus inane, ferunt.
555 post ea praeteriti tumulis redduntur honores,
prodigiisque venit funeribusque modus.
dum tamen haec fiunt, viduae cessate puellae :
expectet puros pinea taeda dies,
nec tibi, quae cupidae matura videbere matri,
560 comat virgineas hasta recurva comas.
conde tuas, Hymenaeae, faces et ab ignibus atris
aufer ! habent alias maesta sepulchra faces.
di quoque templorum foribus celentur opertis,
ture vacent arae stentque sine igne foci.

536. ima *AUDXM¹m¹* : una *M²m²*.

537. porrectis *AU(?)DXM¹m¹* : protectis *m²* : proiectis *Heinsius*, from one MS. (comparing *Ovid*, *Amores* i. 6. 67-70). But the verb *porricere* is regularly used of sacrificial offerings. Compare *Virgil*, *Aen.* v. 238.

538. parcaque *A¹U* : parvaque *A¹XM¹m²* : sparsaque *DM²m¹B* : puraque *Postgate*.

540. relicta *AUDXM¹m¹* : reperta *m²* : relecta *Heinsius* : relata *Zielinski*.

542. sua *AUDXM¹m¹* : pia *m²*.

548. deseruere *AUDM²m²* : deseruisse *Xm¹*.

549. omine ab isto *ADXM¹m* : omen (?) ab isto *U* : omen abesto *E. H. Alton* (*Hermathena* xliii. (1922) p. 288).

552. tacitae *UD* : tacite *AXM¹m*.

pyres. The ghosts ask but little : they value piety more than a costly gift : no greedy gods are they who in the world below do haunt the banks of Styx. A tile wreathed with votive garlands, a sprinkling of corn, a few grains of salt, bread soaked in wine, and some loose violets, these are offerings enough : set these on a potsherd and leave it in the middle of the road. Not that I forbid larger offerings, but even these suffice to appease the shades : add prayers and the appropriate words at the hearths set up for the purpose. This custom was introduced into thy lands, righteous ¹⁰ Latinus, by Aeneas, fit patron of piety. He to his father's spirit solemn offerings brought ; from him the peoples learned the pious rites. But once upon a time, waging long wars with martial arms, they did neglect the All Souls' Days. The negligence was not unpunished ; for 'tis said ¹⁵ that from that ominous day Rome grew hot with the funeral fires that burned without the city. They say, though I can hardly think it, that the ancestral souls did issue from the tombs and make their moan in the hours of stilly night ; and hideous ghosts, a shadowy throng, they say, did howl ²⁰ about the city streets and the wide fields. Afterwards the honours which had been omitted were again paid to the tombs, and so a limit was put to prodigies and funerals. But while these rites are being performed, ye ladies change not your widowed state ; let the nuptial torch of pine wait till the days ²⁵ are pure. And O, thou damsel, who to thine eager mother shalt appear all ripe for marriage, let not the bent-back spear comb down thy maiden hair ! O God of Marriage, hide thy torches, and from these sombre fires bear them away ! Far other are the torches that light up the rueful grave. ³⁰ Screen, too, the gods by shutting up the temple doors ; let no incense burn upon the altars, no fire upon the hearths.

553. *latosque ululasse UDXMm* : *latos ululasse A* : *latiosque ululasse C and three or four S* (preferred by Heinsius, comparing *Fasti* iii. 606, v. 91).

555. *praeteriti AUDMm* : *praerepti D*.

557. *fiunt UDXm* : *fiunt A²Mm²* : *fieret A¹* *viduae AUDMm* : *aviduae D*.

558. *expectet UDXMm* : *expectat A*. *pinca A¹UDXMm* : *spinea A²* (written in margin by a later hand). See the Commentary vol. ii. pp. 440 sq.

559. *nec UDXMm* : *haec A*.

563. *opertis AUDX* : *oppertis m* : *apertis M*.

- 565 nunc animac tenues et corpora functa sepulcris
errant, nunc posito pascitur umbra cibo.
nec tamen haec ultra, quam tot de mense supersint
Luciferi, quot habent carmina nostra pedes.
hanc, quia iusta ferunt, dixere Feralia lucem ;
570 ultima placandis manibus illa dies.
ecce anus in mediis residens annosa puellis
sacra facit Tacitae (nec tamen ipsa tacet),
et digitis tria tura tribus sub limine ponit,
qua brevis occultum mus sibi fecit iter ;
575 tunc cantata ligat cum fusco licia plumbo
et septem nigras versat in ore fabas,
quodque pice adstrinxit, quod acu traiecit aëna,
obsutum maenae torret in igne caput ;
vina quoque instillat : vini quodcumque relictum est,
580 aut ipsa aut comites, plus tamen ipsa, bibit.
" hostiles linguas inimicaque vinximus ora "
dicit discedens ebriaque exit anus.
protinus a nobis, quae sit dea Muta, requires :
disce, per antiquos quae mihi nota senes.
585 Iuppiter immodico Iuturnae victus amore
multa tulit tanto non patienda deo :
illa modo in silvis inter coryleta latebat,
nunc in cognatas desiliebat aquas.
convocat hic nymphas, Latium quaecumque tenebant,
590 et iacit in medio talia verba choro :

566. errant *UDXMM* : errent *m*.

567. nec *AUDXMM*¹ : non *m*². haec *A* : hoc *UXMM*. tot *DXMM*¹*BC* : quot *many* *5* : quod *A* : cum *m*². supersint *AM*² : supersunt *UDM*¹*m* : supersit *A*.

568. luciferi quot *UXMM*² : luciferi quod *Am*¹ : luciferi quod *D*. pedes *UMm*² : dies *ADXm*¹*BC* and *many* *5* : vices *Merkl*¹ (*conjecture*) : deus *Winther* : fides *Bergk*. *Huelsen proposed to insert ut before tot in 567 and to read 568 thus* : luciferos quot habent carmina nostra dies.

569, 570. *These two lines are inserted by a different hand in the margin of m.*

569 iusta *AUXMM* : iusta *D*.

572. tacitae *UDm*¹ : tacite *AXMM*². nec *AX²Mm*¹ : vix *UDX¹m*² : non *m*². ipsa *UDXMM* : illa *A* (*corrected*).

573. tribus *A²DXMm*¹ : simul *A¹U²m*².

575. tunc *AUMm*¹ : tum *DXm*². ligat *UDXMMBC* : tenet *A5*. fusco *AUDXM* : fuso *m* and two *5*. plumbo *AUDXMM* : rhombo *as a variant in two 5*. *Perhaps in this line we should read tria for cum. Compare Virgil, Ecl. viii. 73-74 "Terna tibi haec primum diversa colore | licia circumdo" ; Ciris 371-372 "Terque novena ligans triplici diversa colore | fila."*

Now do the unsubstantial souls and buried dead wander about, now doth the ghost batten upon his dole. But this only lasts until there remain as many days of the month as there are feet in my verses. That day they name the Feralia, because they carry (*ferunt*) to the dead their dues : 5 it is the last day for propitiating the ghosts.

Lo, an old hag, seated among girls, performs rites in honour of Tacita ("the Silent Goddess"), but herself is not silent. With three fingers she puts three lumps of incense under the threshold, where the little mouse has 10 made for herself a secret path. Then she binds enchanted threads together with dark lead, and mumbles seven black beans in her mouth ; and she roasts in the fire the head of a small fish which she has sewed up, made fast with pitch, and pierced through and through with a bronze needle. 15 She also drops wine on it, and the wine that is left over she or her companions drink, but she gets the larger share. Then as she goes off she says, "We have bound fast hostile tongues and unfriendly mouths." So exit the old woman drunk. 20

At once you will ask of me, "Who is the goddess Muta ('the Mute')?" Hear what I learned from old men gone in years. Conquered by exceeding love of Juturna, Jupiter submitted to many things which so great a god ought not to bear. For now she would hide in the 25 woods among the hazel-thickets, now she would leap down into her sister waters. The god called together all the nymphs who dwell in Latium, and thus in the midst of the troop he spake aloud : "Your sister is her own enemy,

If tria had dropped out of the text after ligat, a copyist might have stopped the gap with cum.

577. adstrixit *A*: astrinxit *UDMm*¹: astringit *Xm*². traiecit *AM*²*m*²: transfixit *UDXM*¹*m*²*BC*.

578. obsutum *AXMm*: opsutum *D*: obtusum *U*. maenae *Heinsius*: menae *UXm*²: manae *D*: mentie *Am*²: menta *Mm*¹.

581. vinximus *AUDXM*¹*m*: vicinus *M*².

582. dicat *UXm*: dicet *ADM*.

583. protinus *AUDXMm*: forsitan two *S*. muta *AUDXm*(corrected): nuta *M*. requires *AUDXMm*: requiras four *S*.

585. immodico *ADMm*²: indomito *UXm*¹*BC*. victus *AMm*²: captus *UDXm*¹.

586. patienda *UDXMm*: pacienda *A*²: purienda *A*¹.

587. latebat a few *S* and as variant in *C*: iacebat *AUDXMm*.

- " invidet ipsa sibi vitatque, quod expedit illi,
 vestra soror summo concubuisse deo.
 consulite ambobus ; nam quae mea magna voluptas,
 utilitas vestrae magna sororis erit.
 595 vos illi in prima fugienti obsistite ripa,
 ne sua flumine corpora mergat aqua."
 dixerat : adnuerant nymphae Tiberinides omnes,
 quaeque colunt thalamos, Ilia diva, tuos.
 forte fuit nais, Lara nomine, prima sed illi
 600 dicta bis antiquum syllaba nomen erat,
 ex vitio positum. saepe illi dixerat Alno
 " nata, tene linguam," nec tamen illa tenet.
 quae simul ac tetigit Iuturnae stagna sororis,
 " effuge " ait " ripas " ; dicta refertque Iovis.
 605 illa etiam Iunonem adiit, miserataque nuptas
 " naida Iuturnam vir tuus " inquit " amat."
 Iuppiter intumuit, quaque est non usa modeste,
 eripit huic linguam Mercuriumque vocat :
 " duc hanc ad manes ; locus ille silentibus aptus.
 610 nympa, sed infernae nympa paludis erit."
 iussa Iovis fiunt. accepit lucus euntes :
 dicitur illa duci tunc placuisse deo.
 vim parat hic, voltu pro verbis illa precatur,
 et frustra muto nititur ore loqui.
 615 fitque gravis geminosque parit, qui compita servant
 et vigilant nostra semper in urbe, Lares.

Proxima cognati dixere Caristia cari,
 et venit ad socios turba propinqua deos.

591. sibi *UDXMM* : dei *A*.
 592. concubuisse *AMP*^m : iungere membra *UDXMM*^{BC} : iungere verba
*m*¹. deo *AUDXMM* : toro *M*².
 593. quae mea *AUX*¹*m*¹ : quae est mea *X*²*M* : quae est mihi *D* : quod
 mea *m*². voluptas *AUX*¹*DXMM* : voluntas *C*¹.
 594. magna *ADM*^m : prima *UX*^m¹.
 595. vos *UDXMM* : vis *A*.
 596. mandat (for mergat) *two* ζ : hence *Heinsius* conjectured ne sua flumineae
 corpora mandat aquae.
 597. adnuerant *A* : annuerant *UDXMM*¹ : annuerunt *m*². nymphae
 tyberinides (or tiberinides) omnes *UDXMM* : omnes tiberinides omnes *A* :
 nymphae tiberinides undae ζ : undae tiberinides undae *one* ζ : omnes tiberinides
 undae *Merkel*¹.
 599. lara *Xm*² : lar *AUDM*. 600. erat *UDXMM* : erit *A*.
 602. nata *AUXMM* : nate *D*. illa *UDXMM* : ipsa *A*.

and shuns that union with the supreme god which is all for her good. Pray look to her interests and to mine, for what is a great pleasure to me will be a great boon to your sister. When she flees, stop her on the edge of the bank, lest she plunge into the water of the river." He ⁵ spake. Assent was given by all the nymphs of Tiber and by those who haunt, Ilia divine, thy wedding bowers. It chanced there was a Naiad nymph, Lara by name; but her old name was the first syllable repeated twice, and that was given her to mark her failing. Many a time Almo ¹⁰ had said to her, "My daughter, hold thy tongue," but hold it she did not. No sooner did she reach the pools of her sister Juturna than, "Fly the banks," said she, and reported the words of Jupiter. She even visited Juno and, after expressing her pity for married dames, "Your husband," ¹⁵ quoth she, "is in love with the Naiad Juturna." Jupiter fumed and wrenched from her the tongue she had used so indiscreetly. He also called for Mercury. "Take her to deadland," said he, "that's the place for mutes. A nymph she is, but a nymph of the infernal marsh she'll be." The ²⁰ orders of Jupiter were obeyed. On their way they came to a grove; then it was, they say, that she won the heart of her divine conductor. He would have used force; for want of words she pleaded with a look, and all in vain she strove to speak with her dumb lips. She went with child, and ²⁵ bore twins, who guard the cross-roads and ever keep watch in our city: they are the Lares.

VIII. KAL. 22nd.

The next day received its name of Caristia from dear (*carī*) kinsfolk. A crowd of near relations comes to meet the

603. ac *UDXm*: hac *A*.

604. effuge ait *A²UDXm*: effulgeat *A¹*.

605. nuptus *UDXm²*: nuptam *A*: nimpham *D*: nimphem *X¹*: nymphae *m¹*.

608. eripit huic linguam *UMm²*: eripit huic linguam *A*: eripuit linguam *DXm¹BC*. vocat *ADAXm²*: monet *UXm¹*.

610. erit *A²UD²AXm*: erat *A¹D¹*.

611. lucus *A²UDXm*: lacus *A¹*.

612. tunc *AMm¹*: tum *UDXm²B*. deo *AUDXm*: suo *BC⁵*.

613. hic *UDXm*: huic *A*.

616. urbe *AUDXm¹*: uede *m²C*.

618. socios . . . deos *AUDXm*: socias . . . dapes a few *S*.

- scilicet a tumultis et, qui periire, propinquis
 620 protinus ad vivos ora referre iuvat
 postque tot amissos, quicquid de sanguine restat,
 aspicere et generis dinumerare gradus.
 innocui veniant : procul hinc, procul impius esto
 frater et in partus mater acerba suos,
 625 cui pater est vivax, qui matris digerit annos,
 quae premit invisam socrus iniqua nurum.
 Tantalidae fratres absint et Iasonis uxor
 et quae ruricolis semina tosta dedit,
 et soror et Procne Tereusque duabus iniquus
 630 et quicumque suas per scelus auget opes.
 dis generis date tura boni (Concordia fertur
 illa praecipue mitis adesse die)
 et libate dapes, ut, grati pignus honoris,
 nutriat incinctos missa patella Lares.
 635 iamque ubi suadebit placidos nox humida somnos.
 larga precaturi sumite vina manu,
 et " bene vos, bene te, patriac pater, optime Cacsar ! "
 dicite suffuso per sacra verba mero.

- Nox ubi transierit, solito celebretur honore
 640 separat indicio qui deus arva suo.
 Termine, sive lapis, sive es defossus in agro
 stipes, ab antiquis tu quoque numen habes.
 te duo diversa domini de parte coronant
 binaque certa tibi binaque liba ferunt.
 645 ara fit : huc ignem curto fert rustica testu
 sumptum de tepidis ipsa colona focis.

619. et *ADXMm* : sed *U*. propinquis *DXMm* : propinqui *AU*.
 621. sanguine *AUXMm* : genere *D*.
 622. dinumerare *AU²DXMm* : annumerare *U¹*.
 623. veniant *UDXMm* : venient *A*. 625. digerit *A²UDXMm* : degerit *A¹*.
 631. boni *AUDXM* : bonis *m*. 632. die *UDXMm* : iubet *A*.
 633. ut *AUX²M¹m²* : et *DX¹M²m¹*. honoris *AUX¹M²m²* : amoris
DX²M¹m¹.
 634. incinctos *A²m²* : intinctos *U²M¹m¹* : inmissos *DM²*. missa
AUX²M²m² : iussa *DX¹m²*. lares *m¹C* : cibos *AUDXMm²*.
 635. humida *AUDXM* : ultima *mBC⁵*.
 636. larga *AUDXMm²* : parca *m¹*. vina *UDXMm* : verba *A*.
 637. vos *AUDXMm¹* : nos *m²C*. te *AUDXM¹BC* : tu *Mm²C*.
 With the accusative after bene *comparsa Tibullus* ii. 1. 31 " Bene Messallam."
 638. per sacra verba *U²M²m²* : in sacra verba *AU¹* : post sacra verba *M¹* :
 sint sacra verba *m²* : sint bona verba *Xm¹* : ter bona verba *Heinsius* : sub sua

family gods. Sweet it is, no doubt, to recall our thoughts to the living soon as they have dwelt upon the grave and on the dear ones dead and gone; sweet, too, after so many lost, to look upon those of our blood who are left, and to count kin with them. Come none but the innocent! Far, 5 far from here be the unnatural brother, and the mother who is harsh to her own offspring, he whose father lives too long, he who reckons up his mother's years, and the unkind mother-in-law who hates and maltreats her daughter-in-law. Here is no place for the brothers, scions of Tantalus, for Jason's 10 wife, for her who gave to husbandmen the toasted seeds, for Procne and her sister, for Tereus, cruel to them both, and for him, whoever he be, who amasses wealth by crime. Give incense to the family gods, ye virtuous ones (on that day above all others Concord is said to lend her gentle 15 presence); and offer food, that the Lares, in their girt-up robes, may feed at the platter presented to them as a pledge of the homage that they love. And now, when dank night invites to slumber calm, fill high the wine-cup for the prayer and say, "Hail to you! hail to thee, Father of thy Country, 20 Caesar the Good!" and at these sacred words pour out the wine.

VII. KAL. 23rd.

When the night has passed, see to it that the god who marks the boundaries of the tilled lands receives his wonted honour. O Terminus, whether thou art a stone or a stump 25 buried in the field, thou too hast been deified from days of yore. Thou art crowned by two owners on opposite sides; they bring thee two garlands and two cakes. An altar is built. Hither the husbandman's rustic wife brings with her own hands on a potsherd the fire which she has taken from 30

verba *Peter*²: sic sacra verba *Ehwald-Levy*. With per sacra verba compare *Fasti* iv. 660 "adorato per sua verba deo."

642. tu *AUXMm*: sic *DM*¹. numen *Xm²BC*: nomen *AUDX²Mm¹*.

643. de parte *AUX²Mm¹*: pro parte *DX²m²*.

644. liba *UDX²Mm¹BC*: dona *AX²m²*.

645. huc *A²DM²*: hic *UXMm*: hinc *A*¹. curto . . . testu *A*². curto . . . testu *U*¹: curto . . . tecto *Xm²*: curta . . . testa *DM²m²*: curva . . . testa *M²m²*.

In *A* the whole line is written out afresh in the margin in a second and much later script (*A*²), from which the foregoing readings are quoted. In the original text the reading is curto (written above the line) . . . testa, with o written above the a. Compare *Fasti* v. 510.

- ligna senex minuit concisaque construit arte
 et solida ramos figere pugnāt humo :
 tum sicco primas inritat cortice flammās,
 650 stat puer et manibus lata canistra tenet.
 inde ubi ter fruges medios immisit in ignis,
 porrigit incisos filia parva favos.
 vina tenent alii ; libantur singula flammis ;
 spectant, et linguis candida turba favet.
 655 spargitur et caeso communis Terminus agno
 nec queritur, lactans cum sibi porca datur.
 conveniunt celebrantque dapes vicinia simplex
 et cantant laudes, Termine sancte, tuas :
 tu populos urbesque et regna ingentia finis :
 660 omnis erit sine te litigiosus ager.
 nulla tibi ambitio est, nullo corrumpēris auro,
 legitima servas credita rura fide.
 si tu signasses olim Thyreatida terram,
 corpora non leto missa trecenta forent,
 665 nec foret Othryades congestis lectus in armis.
 o quantum patriae sanguinis ille dedit !
 quid, nova cum fierent Capitolia ? nempe deorum
 cuncta Iovi cessit turba locumque dedit :
 Terminus, ut veteres memorant, inventus in aede
 670 restitit et magno cum Iove templa tenet.
 nunc quoque, se supra ne quid nisi sidera cernat,
 exiguum templi tecta foramen habent.
 Termine, post illud levitas tibi libera non est :
 qua positus fueris in statione, mane,
 675 nec tu vicino quicquam concede roganti,
 ne videare hominem praeposuisse Iovi ;

647. concisaque *UDXM¹m* : concissaque *M²* : confisage *A*. arte
AA²Mm²BC : alte *UDX¹m¹*.

648. pugnāt *AUDXM¹m¹* : tentat *M²m²*.

649. tum *AUDXm¹* : tunc *Mm²*. inritat *A* : irritat *U²DXMm¹* :
 invitāt *U¹m²*. 650. lata *AUXMm* : laxa *D*.

654. spectant et *AUDM* : spectat et in *Xm¹*. favet *AUDXMm¹* :
 favent *m²*.

656. lactans *AUDXM²m²* : lactens *M¹m¹*. cum *AUXMm* : si *D*.

657. simplex *AUDMm¹* : supplex *Xm²*.

658. sancte *A²UDXAP¹m* : sanate *A¹* : facte *M²*

659. finis *A²UDXM¹m* : fines *A¹* : signas *M²*. 662. rura *AUXMm* : iura *D*.

663. thyreatida *U²m²* : tyaterida *U¹* : thyaterida *A* : tyriatida *X¹m¹* :
 tyriada *D* : triaterida *Mm²*.

the warm hearth. The old man chops wood, and deftly piles up the billets, and strives to fix the branches in the solid earth: then he nurses the kindling flames with dry bark, the boy stands by and holds the broad basket in his hands. When from the basket he has thrice thrown corn into the 5 midst of the fire, the little daughter presents the cut honeycombs. Others hold vessels of wine. A portion of each is cast into the flames. The company dressed in white look on and hold their peace. Terminus himself, at the meeting of the bounds, is sprinkled with the blood of a slaughtered lamb, 10 and grumbles not when a sucking pig is given him. The simple neighbours meet and hold a feast, and sing thy praises, holy Terminus: thou dost set bounds to peoples and cities and vast kingdoms; without thee every field would be a root of wrangling. Thou courtest no favour, thou art bribed by 15 no gold: the lands entrusted to thee thou dost guard in loyal good faith. If thou of old hadst marked the bounds of the Thyrean land, three hundred men had not been done to death, nor had the name of Othryades been read on the piled arms. O how he made his fatherland to bleed! What 20 happened when the new Capitol was being built? Why, the whole company of gods withdrew before Jupiter and made room for him; but Terminus, as the ancients relate, remained where he was found in the shrine, and shares the temple with great Jupiter. Even to this day there is a small 25 hole in the roof of the temple, that he may see naught above him but the stars. From that time, Terminus, thou hast not been free to flit: abide in that station in which thou hast been placed. Yield not an inch to a neighbour, though he ask thee, lest thou shouldst seem to value man above Jupiter. 30

665. nec *U*¹*U*²*U*³*U*⁴*U*⁵*U*⁶*U*⁷*U*⁸*U*⁹*U*¹⁰*U*¹¹*U*¹²*U*¹³*U*¹⁴*U*¹⁵*U*¹⁶*U*¹⁷*U*¹⁸*U*¹⁹*U*²⁰*U*²¹*U*²²*U*²³*U*²⁴*U*²⁵*U*²⁶*U*²⁷*U*²⁸*U*²⁹*U*³⁰*U*³¹*U*³²*U*³³*U*³⁴*U*³⁵*U*³⁶*U*³⁷*U*³⁸*U*³⁹*U*⁴⁰*U*⁴¹*U*⁴²*U*⁴³*U*⁴⁴*U*⁴⁵*U*⁴⁶*U*⁴⁷*U*⁴⁸*U*⁴⁹*U*⁵⁰*U*⁵¹*U*⁵²*U*⁵³*U*⁵⁴*U*⁵⁵*U*⁵⁶*U*⁵⁷*U*⁵⁸*U*⁵⁹*U*⁶⁰*U*⁶¹*U*⁶²*U*⁶³*U*⁶⁴*U*⁶⁵*U*⁶⁶*U*⁶⁷*U*⁶⁸*U*⁶⁹*U*⁷⁰*U*⁷¹*U*⁷²*U*⁷³*U*⁷⁴*U*⁷⁵*U*⁷⁶*U*⁷⁷*U*⁷⁸*U*⁷⁹*U*⁸⁰*U*⁸¹*U*⁸²*U*⁸³*U*⁸⁴*U*⁸⁵*U*⁸⁶*U*⁸⁷*U*⁸⁸*U*⁸⁹*U*⁹⁰*U*⁹¹*U*⁹²*U*⁹³*U*⁹⁴*U*⁹⁵*U*⁹⁶*U*⁹⁷*U*⁹⁸*U*⁹⁹*U*¹⁰⁰*U*¹⁰¹*U*¹⁰²*U*¹⁰³*U*¹⁰⁴*U*¹⁰⁵*U*¹⁰⁶*U*¹⁰⁷*U*¹⁰⁸*U*¹⁰⁹*U*¹¹⁰*U*¹¹¹*U*¹¹²*U*¹¹³*U*¹¹⁴*U*¹¹⁵*U*¹¹⁶*U*¹¹⁷*U*¹¹⁸*U*¹¹⁹*U*¹²⁰*U*¹²¹*U*¹²²*U*¹²³*U*¹²⁴*U*¹²⁵*U*¹²⁶*U*¹²⁷*U*¹²⁸*U*¹²⁹*U*¹³⁰*U*¹³¹*U*¹³²*U*¹³³*U*¹³⁴*U*¹³⁵*U*¹³⁶*U*¹³⁷*U*¹³⁸*U*¹³⁹*U*¹⁴⁰*U*¹⁴¹*U*¹⁴²*U*¹⁴³*U*¹⁴⁴*U*¹⁴⁵*U*¹⁴⁶*U*¹⁴⁷*U*¹⁴⁸*U*¹⁴⁹*U*¹⁵⁰*U*¹⁵¹*U*¹⁵²*U*¹⁵³*U*¹⁵⁴*U*¹⁵⁵*U*¹⁵⁶*U*¹⁵⁷*U*¹⁵⁸*U*¹⁵⁹*U*¹⁶⁰*U*¹⁶¹*U*¹⁶²*U*¹⁶³*U*¹⁶⁴*U*¹⁶⁵*U*¹⁶⁶*U*¹⁶⁷*U*¹⁶⁸*U*¹⁶⁹*U*¹⁷⁰*U*¹⁷¹*U*¹⁷²*U*¹⁷³*U*¹⁷⁴*U*¹⁷⁵*U*¹⁷⁶*U*¹⁷⁷*U*¹⁷⁸*U*¹⁷⁹*U*¹⁸⁰*U*¹⁸¹*U*¹⁸²*U*¹⁸³*U*¹⁸⁴*U*¹⁸⁵*U*¹⁸⁶*U*¹⁸⁷*U*¹⁸⁸*U*¹⁸⁹*U*¹⁹⁰*U*¹⁹¹*U*¹⁹²*U*¹⁹³*U*¹⁹⁴*U*¹⁹⁵*U*¹⁹⁶*U*¹⁹⁷*U*¹⁹⁸*U*¹⁹⁹*U*²⁰⁰*U*²⁰¹*U*²⁰²*U*²⁰³*U*²⁰⁴*U*²⁰⁵*U*²⁰⁶*U*²⁰⁷*U*²⁰⁸*U*²⁰⁹*U*²¹⁰*U*²¹¹*U*²¹²*U*²¹³*U*²¹⁴*U*²¹⁵*U*²¹⁶*U*²¹⁷*U*²¹⁸*U*²¹⁹*U*²²⁰*U*²²¹*U*²²²*U*²²³*U*²²⁴*U*²²⁵*U*²²⁶*U*²²⁷*U*²²⁸*U*²²⁹*U*²³⁰*U*²³¹*U*²³²*U*²³³*U*²³⁴*U*²³⁵*U*²³⁶*U*²³⁷*U*²³⁸*U*²³⁹*U*²⁴⁰*U*²⁴¹*U*²⁴²*U*²⁴³*U*²⁴⁴*U*²⁴⁵*U*²⁴⁶*U*²⁴⁷*U*²⁴⁸*U*²⁴⁹*U*²⁵⁰*U*²⁵¹*U*²⁵²*U*²⁵³*U*²⁵⁴*U*²⁵⁵*U*²⁵⁶*U*²⁵⁷*U*²⁵⁸*U*²⁵⁹*U*²⁶⁰*U*²⁶¹*U*²⁶²*U*²⁶³*U*²⁶⁴*U*²⁶⁵*U*²⁶⁶*U*²⁶⁷*U*²⁶⁸*U*²⁶⁹*U*²⁷⁰*U*²⁷¹*U*²⁷²*U*²⁷³*U*²⁷⁴*U*²⁷⁵*U*²⁷⁶*U*²⁷⁷*U*²⁷⁸*U*²⁷⁹*U*²⁸⁰*U*²⁸¹*U*²⁸²*U*²⁸³*U*²⁸⁴*U*²⁸⁵*U*²⁸⁶*U*²⁸⁷*U*²⁸⁸*U*²⁸⁹*U*²⁹⁰*U*²⁹¹*U*²⁹²*U*²⁹³*U*²⁹⁴*U*²⁹⁵*U*²⁹⁶*U*²⁹⁷*U*²⁹⁸*U*²⁹⁹*U*³⁰⁰*U*³⁰¹*U*³⁰²*U*³⁰³*U*³⁰⁴*U*³⁰⁵*U*³⁰⁶*U*³⁰⁷*U*³⁰⁸*U*³⁰⁹*U*³¹⁰*U*³¹¹*U*³¹²*U*³¹³*U*³¹⁴*U*³¹⁵*U*³¹⁶*U*³¹⁷*U*³¹⁸*U*³¹⁹*U*³²⁰*U*³²¹*U*³²²*U*³²³*U*³²⁴*U*³²⁵*U*³²⁶*U*³²⁷*U*³²⁸*U*³²⁹*U*³³⁰*U*³³¹*U*³³²*U*³³³*U*³³⁴*U*³³⁵*U*³³⁶*U*³³⁷*U*³³⁸*U*³³⁹*U*³⁴⁰*U*³⁴¹*U*³⁴²*U*³⁴³*U*³⁴⁴*U*³⁴⁵*U*³⁴⁶*U*³⁴⁷*U*³⁴⁸*U*³⁴⁹*U*³⁵⁰*U*³⁵¹*U*³⁵²*U*³⁵³*U*³⁵⁴*U*³⁵⁵*U*³⁵⁶*U*³⁵⁷*U*³⁵⁸*U*³⁵⁹*U*³⁶⁰*U*³⁶¹*U*³⁶²*U*³⁶³*U*³⁶⁴*U*³⁶⁵*U*³⁶⁶*U*³⁶⁷*U*³⁶⁸*U*³⁶⁹*U*³⁷⁰*U*³⁷¹*U*³⁷²*U*³⁷³*U*³⁷⁴*U*³⁷⁵*U*³⁷⁶*U*³⁷⁷*U*³⁷⁸*U*³⁷⁹*U*³⁸⁰*U*³⁸¹*U*³⁸²*U*³⁸³*U*³⁸⁴*U*³⁸⁵*U*³⁸⁶*U*³⁸⁷*U*³⁸⁸*U*³⁸⁹*U*³⁹⁰*U*³⁹¹*U*³⁹²*U*³⁹³*U*³⁹⁴*U*³⁹⁵*U*³⁹⁶*U*³⁹⁷*U*³⁹⁸*U*³⁹⁹*U*⁴⁰⁰*U*⁴⁰¹*U*⁴⁰²*U*⁴⁰³*U*⁴⁰⁴*U*⁴⁰⁵*U*⁴⁰⁶*U*⁴⁰⁷*U*⁴⁰⁸*U*⁴⁰⁹*U*⁴¹⁰*U*⁴¹¹*U*⁴¹²*U*⁴¹³*U*⁴¹⁴*U*⁴¹⁵*U*⁴¹⁶*U*⁴¹⁷*U*⁴¹⁸*U*⁴¹⁹*U*⁴²⁰*U*⁴²¹*U*⁴²²*U*⁴²³*U*⁴²⁴*U*⁴²⁵*U*⁴²⁶*U*⁴²⁷*U*⁴²⁸*U*⁴²⁹*U*⁴³⁰*U*⁴³¹*U*⁴³²*U*⁴³³*U*⁴³⁴*U*⁴³⁵*U*⁴³⁶*U*⁴³⁷*U*⁴³⁸*U*⁴³⁹*U*⁴⁴⁰*U*⁴⁴¹*U*⁴⁴²*U*⁴⁴³*U*⁴⁴⁴*U*⁴⁴⁵*U*⁴⁴⁶*U*⁴⁴⁷*U*⁴⁴⁸*U*⁴⁴⁹*U*⁴⁵⁰*U*⁴⁵¹*U*⁴⁵²*U*⁴⁵³*U*⁴⁵⁴*U*⁴⁵⁵*U*⁴⁵⁶*U*⁴⁵⁷*U*⁴⁵⁸*U*⁴⁵⁹*U*⁴⁶⁰*U*⁴⁶¹*U*⁴⁶²*U*⁴⁶³*U*⁴⁶⁴*U*⁴⁶⁵*U*⁴⁶⁶*U*⁴⁶⁷*U*⁴⁶⁸*U*⁴⁶⁹*U*⁴⁷⁰*U*⁴⁷¹*U*⁴⁷²*U*⁴⁷³*U*⁴⁷⁴*U*⁴⁷⁵*U*⁴⁷⁶*U*⁴⁷⁷*U*⁴⁷⁸*U*⁴⁷⁹*U*⁴⁸⁰*U*⁴⁸¹*U*⁴⁸²*U*⁴⁸³*U*⁴⁸⁴*U*⁴⁸⁵*U*⁴⁸⁶*U*⁴⁸⁷*U*⁴⁸⁸*U*⁴⁸⁹*U*⁴⁹⁰*U*⁴⁹¹*U*⁴⁹²*U*⁴⁹³*U*⁴⁹⁴*U*⁴⁹⁵*U*⁴⁹⁶*U*⁴⁹⁷*U*⁴⁹⁸*U*⁴⁹⁹*U*⁵⁰⁰*U*⁵⁰¹*U*⁵⁰²*U*⁵⁰³*U*⁵⁰⁴*U*⁵⁰⁵*U*⁵⁰⁶*U*⁵⁰⁷*U*⁵⁰⁸*U*⁵⁰⁹*U*⁵¹⁰*U*⁵¹¹*U*⁵¹²*U*⁵¹³*U*⁵¹⁴*U*⁵¹⁵*U*⁵¹⁶*U*⁵¹⁷*U*⁵¹⁸*U*⁵¹⁹*U*⁵²⁰*U*⁵²¹*U*⁵²²*U*⁵²³*U*⁵²⁴*U*⁵²⁵*U*⁵²⁶*U*⁵²⁷*U*⁵²⁸*U*⁵²⁹*U*⁵³⁰*U*⁵³¹*U*⁵³²*U*⁵³³*U*⁵³⁴*U*⁵³⁵*U*⁵³⁶*U*⁵³⁷*U*⁵³⁸*U*⁵³⁹*U*⁵⁴⁰*U*⁵⁴¹*U*⁵⁴²*U*⁵⁴³*U*⁵⁴⁴*U*⁵⁴⁵*U*⁵⁴⁶*U*⁵⁴⁷*U*⁵⁴⁸*U*⁵⁴⁹*U*⁵⁵⁰*U*⁵⁵¹*U*⁵⁵²*U*⁵⁵³*U*⁵⁵⁴*U*⁵⁵⁵*U*⁵⁵⁶*U*⁵⁵⁷*U*⁵⁵⁸*U*⁵⁵⁹*U*⁵⁶⁰*U*⁵⁶¹*U*⁵⁶²*U*⁵⁶³*U*⁵⁶⁴*U*⁵⁶⁵*U*⁵⁶⁶*U*⁵⁶⁷*U*⁵⁶⁸*U*⁵⁶⁹*U*⁵⁷⁰*U*⁵⁷¹*U*⁵⁷²*U*⁵⁷³*U*⁵⁷⁴*U*⁵⁷⁵*U*⁵⁷⁶*U*⁵⁷⁷*U*⁵⁷⁸*U*⁵⁷⁹*U*⁵⁸⁰*U*⁵⁸¹*U*⁵⁸²*U*⁵⁸³*U*⁵⁸⁴*U*⁵⁸⁵*U*⁵⁸⁶*U*⁵⁸⁷*U*⁵⁸⁸*U*⁵⁸⁹*U*⁵⁹⁰*U*⁵⁹¹*U*⁵⁹²*U*⁵⁹³*U*⁵⁹⁴*U*⁵⁹⁵*U*⁵⁹⁶*U*⁵⁹⁷*U*⁵⁹⁸*U*⁵⁹⁹*U*⁶⁰⁰*U*⁶⁰¹*U*⁶⁰²*U*⁶⁰³*U*⁶⁰⁴*U*⁶⁰⁵*U*⁶⁰⁶*U*⁶⁰⁷*U*⁶⁰⁸*U*⁶⁰⁹*U*⁶¹⁰*U*⁶¹¹*U*⁶¹²*U*⁶¹³*U*⁶¹⁴*U*⁶¹⁵*U*⁶¹⁶*U*⁶¹⁷*U*⁶¹⁸*U*⁶¹⁹*U*⁶²⁰*U*⁶²¹*U*⁶²²*U*⁶²³*U*⁶²⁴*U*⁶²⁵*U*⁶²⁶*U*⁶²⁷*U*⁶²⁸*U*⁶²⁹*U*⁶³⁰*U*⁶³¹*U*⁶³²*U*⁶³³*U*⁶³⁴*U*⁶³⁵*U*⁶³⁶*U*⁶³⁷*U*⁶³⁸*U*⁶³⁹*U*⁶⁴⁰*U*⁶⁴¹*U*⁶⁴²*U*⁶⁴³*U*⁶⁴⁴*U*⁶⁴⁵*U*⁶⁴⁶*U*⁶⁴⁷*U*⁶⁴⁸*U*⁶⁴⁹*U*⁶⁵⁰*U*⁶⁵¹*U*⁶⁵²*U*⁶⁵³*U*⁶⁵⁴*U*⁶⁵⁵*U*⁶⁵⁶*U*⁶⁵⁷*U*⁶⁵⁸*U*⁶⁵⁹*U*⁶⁶⁰*U*⁶⁶¹*U*⁶⁶²*U*⁶⁶³*U*⁶⁶⁴*U*⁶⁶⁵*U*⁶⁶⁶*U*⁶⁶⁷*U*⁶⁶⁸*U*⁶⁶⁹*U*⁶⁷⁰*U*⁶⁷¹*U*⁶⁷²*U*⁶⁷³*U*⁶⁷⁴*U*⁶⁷⁵*U*⁶⁷⁶*U*⁶⁷⁷*U*⁶⁷⁸*U*⁶⁷⁹*U*⁶⁸⁰*U*⁶⁸¹*U*⁶⁸²*U*⁶⁸³*U*⁶⁸⁴*U*⁶⁸⁵*U*⁶⁸⁶*U*⁶⁸⁷*U*⁶⁸⁸*U*⁶⁸⁹*U*⁶⁹⁰*U*⁶⁹¹*U*⁶⁹²*U*⁶⁹³*U*⁶⁹⁴*U*⁶⁹⁵*U*⁶⁹⁶*U*⁶⁹⁷*U*⁶⁹⁸*U*⁶⁹⁹*U*⁷⁰⁰*U*⁷⁰¹*U*⁷⁰²*U*⁷⁰³*U*⁷⁰⁴*U*⁷⁰⁵*U*⁷⁰⁶*U*⁷⁰⁷*U*⁷⁰⁸*U*⁷⁰⁹*U*⁷¹⁰*U*⁷¹¹*U*⁷¹²*U*⁷¹³*U*⁷¹⁴*U*⁷¹⁵*U*⁷¹⁶*U*⁷¹⁷*U*⁷¹⁸*U*⁷¹⁹*U*⁷²⁰*U*⁷²¹*U*⁷²²*U*⁷²³*U*⁷²⁴*U*⁷²⁵*U*⁷²⁶*U*⁷²⁷*U*⁷²⁸*U*⁷²⁹*U*⁷³⁰*U*⁷³¹*U*⁷³²*U*⁷³³*U*⁷³⁴*U*⁷³⁵*U*⁷³⁶*U*⁷³⁷*U*⁷³⁸*U*⁷³⁹*U*⁷⁴⁰*U*⁷⁴¹*U*⁷⁴²*U*⁷⁴³*U*⁷⁴⁴*U*⁷⁴⁵*U*⁷⁴⁶*U*⁷⁴⁷*U*⁷⁴⁸*U*⁷⁴⁹*U*⁷⁵⁰*U*⁷⁵¹*U*⁷⁵²*U*⁷⁵³*U*⁷⁵⁴*U*⁷⁵⁵*U*⁷⁵⁶*U*⁷⁵⁷*U*⁷⁵⁸*U*⁷⁵⁹*U*⁷⁶⁰*U*⁷⁶¹*U*⁷⁶²*U*⁷⁶³*U*⁷⁶⁴*U*⁷⁶⁵*U*⁷⁶⁶*U*⁷⁶⁷*U*⁷⁶⁸*U*⁷⁶⁹*U*⁷⁷⁰*U*⁷⁷¹*U*⁷⁷²*U*⁷⁷³*U*⁷⁷⁴*U*⁷⁷⁵*U*⁷⁷⁶*U*⁷⁷⁷*U*⁷⁷⁸*U*⁷⁷⁹*U*⁷⁸⁰*U*⁷⁸¹*U*⁷⁸²*U*⁷⁸³*U*⁷⁸⁴*U*⁷⁸⁵*U*⁷⁸⁶*U*⁷⁸⁷*U*⁷⁸⁸*U*⁷⁸⁹*U*⁷⁹⁰*U*⁷⁹¹*U*⁷⁹²*U*⁷⁹³*U*⁷⁹⁴*U*⁷⁹⁵*U*⁷⁹⁶*U*⁷⁹⁷*U*⁷⁹⁸*U*⁷⁹⁹*U*⁸⁰⁰*U*⁸⁰¹*U*⁸⁰²*U*⁸⁰³*U*⁸⁰⁴*U*⁸⁰⁵*U*⁸⁰⁶*U*⁸⁰⁷*U*⁸⁰⁸*U*⁸⁰⁹*U*⁸¹⁰*U*⁸¹¹*U*⁸¹²*U*⁸¹³*U*⁸¹⁴*U*⁸¹⁵*U*⁸¹⁶*U*⁸¹⁷*U*⁸¹⁸*U*⁸¹⁹*U*⁸²⁰*U*⁸²¹*U*⁸²²*U*⁸²³*U*⁸²⁴*U*⁸²⁵*U*⁸²⁶*U*⁸²⁷*U*⁸²⁸*U*⁸²⁹*U*⁸³⁰*U*⁸³¹*U*⁸³²*U*⁸³³*U*⁸³⁴*U*⁸³⁵*U*⁸³⁶*U*⁸³⁷*U*⁸³⁸*U*⁸³⁹*U*⁸⁴⁰*U*⁸⁴¹*U*⁸⁴²*U*⁸⁴³*U*⁸⁴⁴*U*⁸⁴⁵*U*⁸⁴⁶*U*⁸⁴⁷*U*⁸⁴⁸*U*⁸⁴⁹*U*⁸⁵⁰*U*⁸⁵¹*U*⁸⁵²*U*⁸⁵³*U*⁸⁵⁴*U*

- et seu vomeribus seu tu pulsabere rastris,
clamato " tuus est hic ager, ille suus ! "
est via, quae populum Laurentes ducit in agros,
680 quondam Dardanio regna petita duci :
illa lanigeri pecoris tibi, Termine, fibris
sacra videt fieri sextus ab urbe lapis.
gentibus est aliis tellus data limite certo :
Romanae spatium est urbis et orbis idem.
- 685 Nunc mihi dicenda est regis fuga : traxit ab illa
sextus ab extremo nomina mense dies.
ultima Tarquinius Romanae gentis habebat
regna, vir iniustus, fortis ad arma tamen.
ceperat hic alias, alias everterat urbes
690 et Gabios turpi fecerat arte suos.
namque trium minimus, proles manifesta Superbi,
in medios hostes nocte silente venit.
nudarant gladios : " occidite " dixit " inermem !
hoc cupiant fratres Tarquiniusque pater,
695 qui mea crudeli laceravit verbera terga."
dicere ut hoc posset, verbera passus erat.
luna fuit : spectant iuvenem gladiosque recondunt
tergaque deducta veste notata vident.
flectit quoque et, ut secum tucatur bella, precantur :
700 callidus ignaris adnuvit ille viris.
iamque potens misso genitorem appellat amico,
perdendi Gabios quod sibi monstret iter.
hortus odoratis suberat cultissimus herbis
sectus humum rivo lene sonantis aquae :
705 illic Tarquinius mandata latentia nati
accipit et virga lilia summa metit.
nuntius ut rediit decussa lilia dixit,
filius " agnosco iussa parentis " ait.

678. tuus . . . suus A^2Mm^1 : tuus . . . tuus A^1UXm^2 . suus . . . tuus D .

679. populum $AUMm^1$: populos DXm^2 .

680. dardanio $AUXMm$: dardanido D .

683. data AUX^2M : in DX^1 .

684. romanae $AUXM^1m$: romanis D : romano M^2 .

685. illa $AUXMm$: illo D .

686. extremo $AUXMm$: extrema D .

689. everterat $AUDXMM^2$. cum terreat m^1 : averterat *two or three S*.

And whether they beat thee with ploughshares or with rakes, cry out, "This is thy land, and that is his." There is a way that leads folk to the Laurentine fields, the kingdom once sought by the Dardanian chief: on that way the sixth milestone from the city witnesses the sacrifice of a woolly 5 sheep's guts to thee, Terminus. The land of other nations has a fixed boundary: the circuit of Rome is the circuit of the world.

VI. KAL. 24th.

Now have I to tell of the Flight of the King: from it the sixth day from the end of the month has taken its name. 10 The last to reign over the Roman people was Tarquin, a man unjust, yet puissant in arms. He had taken some cities and overturned others, and had made Gabii his own by foul play. For of the king's three sons the youngest, true scion of his proud sire, came in the silent night into the midst of the foes. 15 They drew their swords. "Slay an unarmed man!" said he. "'Tis what my brothers would desire, aye and Tarquin, my sire, who gashed my back with cruel scourge." In order that he might urge this plea, he had submitted to a scourging. The moon shone. They beheld the youth and sheathed their 20 swords, for they saw the scars on his back, where he drew down his robe. They even wept and begged that he would side with them in war. The cunning knave assented to their unwary suit. No sooner was he installed in power than he sent a friend to ask his father to show him the way of destroy- 25 ing Gabii. Below the palace lay a garden trim of odoriferous plants, whereof the ground was cleft by a brook of purling water: there Tarquin received the secret message of his son, and with his staff he mowed the tallest lilies. When the messenger returned and told of the cropped lilies, "I 30 take," quoth the son, "my father's bidding." Without

694. cupiant *A* and a few *S*: cupiunt *U'DXMM* and most *MSS.*

695. verberare *AU'DXMM*²: vulnere *m*¹.

700. adnuit *A*: annuit *U'DXMM*.

702. perendi *AU'DXMM*: prodendi *two or three S*. quod *AUMm*:
qui *D*: quo *X*. monstret *AU'DX²MM*: monstret *X*¹.

703. suberat cultissimus *AU'XMM*: fuerat nitidissimus *D*.

704. sectus *AU'Dm*¹: septus *XMM*². rivo *U'DXMM*: riva *A*.
sonantis *U'DXMM*: sonentis *A*.

- nec mora, principibus caesis ex urbe Gabina
 710 traduntur ducibus moenia nuda suis.
 ecce, nefas visu, mediis altaribus anguis
 exit et extinctis ignibus exta rapit.
 consulitur Phoebus : sors est ita reddita : " matri
 qui dederit princeps oscula, victor erit."
 715 oscula quisque suae matri properata tulerunt,
 non intellecto credula turba deo.
 Brutus erat stulti sapiens imitator, ut esset
 tutus ab insidiis, dire Superbe, tuis ;
 ille iacens pronus matri dedit oscula Terrae,
 720 creditus offenso procubuisse pede.
 cingitur interea Romanis Ardea signis
 et patitur longas obsidione moras.
 dum vacat et metuunt hostes committere pugnam,
 luditur in castris, otia miles agit.
 725 Tarquinius iuvenis socios dapibusque meroque
 accipit ; ex illis rege creatus ait :
 " dum nos sollicitos pigro tenet Ardea bello
 nec sinist ad patrios arma referre deos,
 ecquid in officio torus est socialis ? et ecquid
 730 coniugibus nostris mutua cura sumus ? "
 quisque suam laudat : studiis certamina crescunt,
 et fervet multo linguaque corque mero.
 surgit, cui dederat clarum Collatia nomen :
 " non opus est verbis, credite rebus ! " ait.
 735 " nox superest : tollamur equis urbemque petamus ! "
 dicta placent, frenis impediuntur equi,
 pertulerant dominos. regalia protinus illi
 tecta petunt : custos in fore nullus erat.
 ecce nurus regis fuis per colla coronis
 740 inveniunt posito pervigilare mero.

709. gabina *AUDMm*² : gabinis *Xm*¹.

711. visu *AU(corrected)DXMm*² : visum est *Xm*¹.

713. sors est ita *AUDM* : sorsque ita *X* : sorsque ita est *m*.

714. princeps *AUXMm*¹ : primus *DMm*².

715. tulerunt *AUDXm*¹ : dederunt *M*².

719. iacens *AUDXm*¹ : cadens *m*². pronus matri *AUXMm* : matri
 pronus *D*.

720. creditus *AUXMm*² : creditur *Dm*¹.

722. longus *MUDMm*² : longis *A*¹ : lentas *Xm*¹

723. committere *UDXm* : contempnere *A*.

delay, he put to the sword the chief men of the city of Gabii and surrendered the walls, now bereft of their native leaders.

Behold, O horrid sight ! from between the altars a snake came forth and snatched the sacrificial meat from the dead fires. Phoebus was consulted. An oracle was delivered in these terms : " He who shall first have kissed his mother will be victorious." Each one of the credulous company, not understanding the god, hastened to kiss his mother. The prudent Brutus feigned to be a fool, in order that from thy snares, Tarquin the Proud, dread king, he might be safe; lying prone he kissed his mother Earth, but they thought he had stumbled and fallen. Meantime the Roman legions had compassed Ardea, and the city suffered a long and lingering siege. While there was naught to do, and the foe feared to join battle, they made merry in the camp; the soldiers took their ease. Young Tarquin entertained his comrades with feast and wine : among them the king's son spake : " While Ardea keeps us here on tenterhooks with sluggish war, and suffers us not to carry back our arms to the gods of our fathers, what of the loyalty of the marriage-bed ? and are we as dear to our wives as they to us ? " Each praised his wife : in their eagerness dispute ran high, and every tongue and heart grew hot with the deep draughts of wine. Then up and spake the man who from Collatia took his famous name : " No need of words ! Trust deeds ! There's night enough. To horse ! and ride we to the city." The saying pleased them ; the steeds are bridled and bear their masters to the journey's end. The royal palace first they seek : no sentinel was at the door. Lo, they find the king's daughters-in-law, their necks draped with garlands, keeping their vigils

725. iuvenis *AUDX¹M* : iuvenes *Heinsius*.

726. atque illis a few *S* : en illis *Riese* (conjecture). regē *AUDX¹M²* : lege *m¹*.

727. sollicitos *AUDM²* : difficilis *X¹m¹BC*.

732. fervet *AUDM²* : fervent *X¹m¹*.

737. dominos *AUDX¹M²* : montes *m¹*.

739. nurus *Nodell* : nurum *AUDX¹M* and apparently all other MSS. But compare *Livy* i. 57. 9, " Ubi Lucretiam haudquaquam ut regias nurus, quas in convivio luxuque cum aequalibus viderant tempus terentes, sed nocte sera deditam lanae inter lucubrantes ancillas in medio aedium sedentem inveniunt " As *Ond* is here closely following *Livy*, we may safely accept nurus for nurum in the present passage. coronis *AUDX¹m¹* : capillis *X²M²m²*.

740. mero *UDX¹M* : more *A*.

- inde cito passu petitur Lucretia : nebat,
ante torum calathi lanaque mollis erat.
lumen ad exiguum famulae data pensa trahebant,
inter quas tenui sic ait illa sono :
- 745 " mittenda est domino (nunc, nunc properate, puellae !)
quam primum nostra facta lacerna manu.
quid tamen auditis ? nam plura audire potestis :
quantum de bello dicitur esse super ?
postmodo victa cades : melioribus, Ardea, restas,
- 750 improba, quae nostros cogis abesse viros.
sint tantum reduces ! sed enim temerarius ille
est meus et stricto qualibet ense ruit.
mens abit, et morior, quotiens pugnantis imago
me subit, et gelidum pectora frigus habet."
- 755 desinit in lacrimas intentaque fila remittit,
in gremio voltum deposuitque suum.
hoc ipsum decuit : lacrimae decuere pudicae,
et facies animo dignaque parque fuit.
" pone metum, veni ! " coniunx ait. illa revixit
- 760 deque viri collo dulce pendit onus.
interea iuvenis furiales regius ignis
concipit et caeco raptus amore furit.
forma placet niveusque color flavique capilli,
quique aderat nulla factus ab arte decor ;
- 765 verba placent et vox, et quod corrumpere non est,
quoque minor spes est, hoc magis ille cupit.
iam dederat cantus lucis praenuntius ales,
cum referunt iuvenes in sua castra pedem.

741. nebat *m*¹ and three *ſ* (compare line 771, "nevit"). cum *ALDXM*^m and most MSS. Compare H. Peter, De P. Ovidi Nasonis fastis disputatio critica, p. 17

742. erat *ALXMm*. erant *D*.

743. exiguum *A²FDXMm*. exitum *A*¹.

744. illa *ALMm*² : ipsa *DXm*¹.

746. nostra *ALDXM¹m* : vestra *M*²

747. auditis *AUM*¹ : audistis *DXM²mBC* and many *ſ*.

749. restas *AL²DXMm* : restat *U*¹. The verb *restare* with a dative in the sense of resistere is unusual. Perhaps we should translate, "Thou art reserved for better men" (to fall into their hands). Recognizing the difficulty, E. H. Alton thought that Ovid may have written, *Victa cudes*—victis melioribus, Ardea, restas ? (Classical Review, xxxii. (1918), p. 19)

752. est meus *AUDAm* : vir meus *M*. qualibet *AUDAm* : quolibet *MC*^ſ.

over the wine Thence they galloped to Lucretia : she was spinning : before her bed were baskets of soft wool. By a dim light the handmaids were spinning their allotted stints of yarn. Amongst them the lady spoke in accents soft : " Haste ye now, haste, my girls ! The cloak our hands have wrought must to your master be instantly dispatched. But what news have ye ? For more news comes your way. How much do they say of the war is yet to come ? Hereafter thou shalt be vanquished and fall : Ardea, thou dost resist thy betters, thou jade, that keepest perforce our husbands far away ! 10 If only they came back ! But mine is rash, and with drawn sword he rushes anywhere. I faint, I die, oft as the image of my soldier spouse steals on my mind and strikes a chill into my breast." She ended weeping, dropped the stretched yarn, and buried her face in her lap. The gesture was 15 becoming ; becoming, too, her modest tears ; her face was worthy of its peer, her soul. " Fear not, I've come," her husband said. She revived and on her spouse's neck she hung, a burden sweet.

Meantime the royal youth caught fire and fury, and 20 transported by blind love he raved. Her figure pleased him, and that snowy hue, that yellow hair, and artless grace ; pleasing, too, her words and voice and virtue incorruptible ; and the less hope he had, the hotter his desire. Now had the bird, the herald of the dawn, uttered his chant, 25 when the young men retraced their steps to camp. Mean-

753. morior *AU²DXMm* : maior *U¹*.

755. lacrimas *UXm²BC* : lacrimis *ADM⁵*. intentaque *UXm²* : inceptaque *ADMm¹*. remittit *UXm¹* : renusat *ADMm²*.

756. suum *UXm²* : suo *ADMm¹*.

757. ipsum *AUDMm* : ipsam *X* decuere *ADXMm¹* : cecidere *U²m²*. pudicæ *U²m¹* : pudicam *ADXMm²*.

759. veni *Am²* : venio *U(in margin)XMm¹*.

761. furiales *ADXMm (corrected)* : furiatus *U¹* : furiialis *U²* : furiatos *Heinsius*.

762. raptus *AUDXMm¹* : captus *C⁵* : carptus *m²*.

763. flavique *AUXMm* : niveique *D*.

764. decor *AUDXMm¹* : color *X²m²*.

765. vox *AUDMm¹* : nox *Xm²*. quod *UDM²m¹* : quam *AXM¹* : qua *m²*.

766. ille *AUDXm* : ipse *M*

767. cantus *UDXMm* : cantum *a number of 5*.

- carpitur adtonitos absentis imagine sensus
 770 ille. recordanti plura magisque placent :
 " sic sedit, sic culta fuit, sic stamina nevit,
 neglectae collo sic iacuere comae,
 hos habuit voltus, haec illi verba fuerunt,
 hic color, haec facies, hic decor oris erat."
 775 ut solet a magno fluctus languescere flatu,
 sed tamen a vento, qui fuit, unda tumet,
 sic, quamvis aberat placitae praesentia formae,
 quem dederat praesens forma, manebat amor.
 ardet et iniusti stimulis agitatus amoris
 780 comparat indigno vimque dolumque toro.
 " exitus in dubio est : audebimus ultima ! " dixit,
 " viderit ! audentes forsque deusque iuvat.
 cepimus audendo Gabios quoque." talia fatus
 ense latus cinxit tergaque pressit equi.
 785 accipit aerata iuvenem Collatia porta
 condere iam voltus sole parante suos.
 hostis ut hospes init penetralia Collatini :
 comiter excipitur ; sanguine iunctus erat.
 quantum animis erroris inest ! parat inscia rerum
 790 infelix epulas hostibus illa suis.
 functus erat dapibus : poscunt sua tempora somnum ;
 nox erat et tota lumina nulla domo :
 surgit et aurata vagina liberat ensem
 et venit in thalamos, nupta pudica, tuos,
 795 utque torum pressit, " ferrum, Lucretia, mecum est.
 natus " ait " regis Tarquiniusque loquor ! "
 illa nihil : neque enim vocem viresque loquendi
 aut aliquid toto pectore mentis habet.

769. adtonitos *A* : attonitos *U²XAM²m* : attonitus *U¹DM¹*.

770. ille *U¹XM¹* : iamque *D* : atque *M*. plura magisque *U¹UDXM¹m* : plurima plura *E. H. Alton* (Classical Review, xxxii. (1918), pp. 58 sq., comparing Fasti i. 212, Ibis 119, 120).

772. neglectae *U¹DXM²m* : iniectae *M¹* : inlectae *A*.

774. color . . . decori *ADMM²* : decor . . . color *U¹Xm¹*.

775. flatu *U¹DXM¹m* : fluctu *A*.

776. qui fuit *ADXMM¹*. quo fuit *U* : quo fuit *m²*. unda *U¹UDXM¹m* : ante *M²* and a few *S*. 777. sic *U¹DXM¹m* : sed *A*.

779. agitatus *U²XMMBCS* : agitur *U¹D*.

780. dolumque *UDXM¹Bs* : metumque *AMm²* and apparently most MSS.

782. forsque deusque *DXM¹* : forsque meusque *A* : forsne deusne *U* : sorsque venusque *m²S* : forsque venusque *S* (compare *Ars Amat.* i. 608 "Auden-

time the image of his absent love preyed on his senses crazed. In memory's light more fair and fair she grew. "'Twas thus she sat, 'twas thus she dressed, 'twas thus she spun the yarn, 'twas thus her tresses careless lay upon her neck; that was her look, these were her words, that was her colour, that 5 her form, and that her lovely face." As after a great gale the surge subsides, and yet the billow heaves, lashed by the wind now fallen, so, though absent now that winsome form and far away, the love which by its presence it had struck into his heart remained. He burned, and, goaded by the 10 pricks of an unrighteous love, he plotted violence and guile against an innocent bed. "The issue is in doubt. We'll dare the utmost," said he. "Let her look to it! God and fortune help the daring. By daring we captured Gabii too."

15

So saying he girt his sword at his side and bestrode his horse's back. The bronze-bound gate of Collatia opened for him just as the sun was making ready to hide his face. In the guise of a guest the foe found his way into the home of Collatinus. He was welcomed kindly, for he came of kindred 20 blood. How was her heart deceived! All unaware she, hapless dame, prepared a meal for her own foes. His repast over, the hour of slumber came. 'Twas night, and not a taper shone in the whole house. He rose, and from the gilded scabbard he drew his sword, and came into thy chamber, 25 virtuous spouse. And when he touched the bed, "The steel is in my hand, Lucretia," said he, "I that speak am the king's son and Tarquin." She answered never a word. Voice and power of speech and thought itself fled from her

tem forsque Venusque iuvat"). iuvat *AUDXm*: iuvant *Ms*. viderit
audentes forsne deusne iuvat *Heinsius*.

783. gabios *AUXMm*: fabios *D*.

784. cinxit *AUDXm*: cingit *S*.

787. collatini *AUDXm*: collatina *two S*.

788. excipitur *AUXMm*: accipitur *D*.

789. quantum animis erroris inest *ADXm*¹: quantus inest animus error
*Um*².

790. hostibus illa suis *AXMm*: hostibus illa suas *D*: hospitis illa sui *U*.

791. somnum *AXDMm*: somni *U*⁵.

793. aurata *ADMm*² and apparently *most vss.*: auratum *UXm*¹. liberat
A and apparently *most vss.*: deripit *U¹m*¹: diripit *U²DXMm*².

794. in *AUXMm*: ad *D*. pudica *AUDXm*²: puella *m*¹.

796. loquor *AS*: vocor *UDXm*. 797. vocem *AUXMm*: voces *D*.

- sed tremit, ut quondam stabulis deprensa relictis
 800 parva sub infesto cum iacet agna lupo.
 quid faciat? pugnet? vincetur femina pugnans.
 clamet? at in dextra, qui vetet, ensis erat.
 effugiat? positis urgentur pectora palmis,
 tunc primum externa pectora tacta manu.
 805 instat amans hostis precibus pretioque minisque:
 nec prece nec pretio nec movet ille minis.
 "nil agis: eripiam" dixit "per crimina vitam:
 falsus adulterii testis adulter ero:
 interimam famulum, cum quo deprensa fereris."
 810 succubuit famae victa puella metu.
 quid, victor, gaudes? haec te victoria perdet.
 heu quanto regnis nox stetit una tuis!
 iamque erat orta dies: passis sedet illa capillis,
 ut solet ad nati mater itura rogam,
 815 grandaevumque patrem fido cum coniuge castris
 evocat, et posita venit uterque mora.
 utque vident habitum, quae luctus causa, requirunt,
 cui paret exequias, quove sit icta malo?
 illa diu reticet pudibundaque celat amictu
 820 ora: fluunt lacrimae more perennis aquae.
 hinc pater, hinc coniunx lacrimas solantur et orant,
 indicet, et caeco flentque paventque metu.
 ter conata loqui ter destitit, ausaque quarto
 non oculos ideo sustulit illa suos.
 825 "hoc quoque Tarquinio debebimus? eloquar," inquit,
 "eloquar infelix dedecus ipsa meum?"
 quaeque potest, narrat. restabant ultima: flevit,
 et matronales erubuere genae.
 dant veniam facto genitor coniunxque coacto:
 830 "quam" dixit "veniam vos datis, ipsa nego."

799. tremit *ADXMm*: freniit *U*.801. pugnans *ADMM*²: pugna *UXm*¹*B*.802. vetet *AUMm*¹: vetat *DXm*²: necet *some* *S*. erat *ADXMm*:
 adest *U* and a few *S*.805. minisque *AU²DXMm*: ministro *U*¹.807. per crimina *ADXMm*¹: pro crimine *Um*².808. ero *ADXMm*: erit *US*.812. quanto *AUXMm*: quantum *D*. Compare *A. E. Housman, on*
Manilius, iv. 403.813. passis *AUMm*²: sparsis *DXm*¹.815. fido *UDXMm*: hdi *A*.

breast. But she trembled, as trembles a little lamb that, caught straying from the fold, lies low under a ravening wolf. What could she do? Should she struggle? In a struggle a woman will always be worsted. Should she cry out? But in his clutch was a sword to silence her. Should she fly? His hands pressed heavy on her breast, the breast that till then had never known the touch of stranger hand. Her lover foe is urgent with prayers, with bribes, with threats; but still he cannot move her by prayers, by bribes, by threats. "Resistance is vain," said he, "I'll rob thee of honour and 10 of life. I, the adulterer, will bear false witness to thine adultery. I'll kill a slave, and rumour will have it that thou wert caught with him." Overcome by fear of infamy, the dame gave way. Why, victor, dost thou joy? This victory will ruin thee. Alack, how dear a single night did cost thy 15 kingdom! And now the day had dawned. She sat with hair dishevelled, like a mother who must attend the funeral pyre of her son. Her aged sire and faithful spouse she summoned from the camp, and both came without delay. When they saw her plight, they asked why she mourned, whose 20 obsequies she was preparing, or what ill had befallen her. She was long silent, and for shame hid her face in her robe: her tears flowed like a running stream. On this side and on that her father and her spouse did soothe her grief and pray her to tell, and in blind fear they wept and quaked. Thrice 25 she essayed to speak, and thrice gave o'er, and when the fourth time she summoned up courage she did not for that lift up her eyes. "Must I owe this too to Tarquin? Must I utter," quoth she, "must I utter, woe's me, with my own lips my own disgrace?" And what she can she tells. The 30 end she left unsaid, but wept and a blush o'erspread her matron cheeks. Her husband and her sire pardoned the deed enforced. She said, "The pardon that you give, I

818. quove *UXMmBCS*: quoque *ADS*. malo *UXMm*: modo (*over erasure*) *A*. 819. reticet *UDXMm*: retinet *A*.

821. lacrimas *AUDXm*: lacrimans *M*.

823. loqui ter *AUXMm*: loqui est ter *D*.

824. ideo *AMm*³: adeo *U*: ad eos *DXm*¹.

825. hoc *AUXMm*²: haec *DM*¹.

829. dant *ADXMm*: dat *U*. facto *A²DXM¹m*: facti *M²S*: fasto *A*. coacto *UDXm*¹: coactae *AMm*³.

- nec mora, celato fixit sua pectora ferro
 et cedit in patrios sanguinolenta pedes.
 tunc quoque iam moriens ne non procumbat honeste,
 respicit; haec etiam cura cadentis erat.
 835 ecce super corpus communia damna gementes
 oblitū decoris virque paterque iacent.
 Brutus adest tandemque animo sua nomina fallit
 fixaque semianimi corpore tela rapit
 stillantemque tencens generoso sanguine cultrum
 840 edidit impavidos ore minante sonos:
 "per tibi ego hunc iuro fortem castumque cruorem
 perque tuos manes, qui mihi numen erunt,
 Tarquinius profuga poenas cum stirpe daturum.
 iam satis est virtus dissimulata diu."
 845 illa iacens ad verba oculos sine lumine movit
 visaque concussa dicta probare coma.
 fertur in exequias animi matrona virilis
 et secum lacrimas invidiamque trahit.
 volnus inane patet. Brutus clamore Quirites
 850 concitat et regis facta nefanda refert.
 Tarquinius cum prole fugit, capit annua consul
 iura: dies regnis illa suprema fuit.

- Fallimur, an veris praenuntia venit hirundo
 nec metuit, ne qua versa recurrat hiems?
 855 saepe tamen, Procne, nimium properasse quereris,
 virque tuo Tereus frigore laetus erit.

- Iamque duae restant noctes de mense secundo,
 Marsque citos iunctis curribus urget equos:
 ex vero positum permansit Equirria nomen,
 860 quae deus in Campo prospicit ipse suo.

831. fixit *ADMm*²: figit *UXm*¹*BC*. ferro *ADM*¹*m*²: cultro *UXM*²*m*¹.
 832. in *AUDXMM*¹*m*: ad *M*². 833. tunc *ADM*¹*m*¹: tum *UXm*².
 837. animo *UXm*: aīo (=unimo) *DM*: animos *A*.
 838. semianimi *UDXMM*: semianimis *A*.
 841. per tibi ego hunc iuro *AUXMM*: per ego iuro tibi hunc *D*.
 castumque *A*²*UDXMM*: castrumque *A*¹.
 842. mihi *AUDXMM*²: tibi *m*¹.
 844. diu *AUDXMM*¹: mihi *m*².
 849. inane *AUDXMM*¹*m*: mane *M*².
 852. regnis *A*²*UDXMM*: regis *A*¹.

do refuse myself." Without delay, she stabbed her breast with the steel she had hidden, and weltering in her blood fell at her father's feet. Even then in dying she took care to sink down decently : that was her thought even as she fell. Lo, heedless of appearances, the husband and 5 father fling themselves on her body, moaning their common loss. Brutus came, and then at last belied his name ; for from the half-dead body he snatched the weapon stuck in it, and holding the knife, that dripped with noble blood, he fearless spake these words of menace : " By this brave blood 10 and chaste, and by thy ghost, who shall be god to me, I swear to be avenged on Tarquin and on his banished brood. Too long have I dissembled my manly worth." At these words, even as she lay, she moved her lightless eyes and seemed by the stirring of her hair to ratify the speech. They bore her to 15 burial, that matron of manly courage ; and tears and indignation followed in her train. The gaping wound was exposed for all to see. With a cry Brutus assembled the Quirites and rehearsed the king's foul deeds. Tarquin and his brood were banished. A consul undertook the government for a 20 year. That day was the last of kingly rule.

Do I err ? or has the swallow come, the harbinger of spring, and does she not fear lest winter should turn and come again ? Yet often, Procne, wilt thou complain that thou hast made too much haste, and thy husband Tereus will be 25 glad at the cold thou feelest.

III. KAL. 27th.

And now two nights of the second month are left, and Mars urges on the swift steeds yoked to his chariot. The day has kept the appropriate name of Equirria (" horse-races "), derived from the races which the god himself 30

853-864. *These last twelve lines of Book II. are wanting in U: there is no sign of a lacuna.*

853. veris praenuntia ve 1. *ADNm* : veniat praenuntia veris *M*.

854. nec *Koch* : et *ADAMm*. metuit *ADXAm*² : vetuit *m*¹.

855. quereris *AX²Mm²* : feresis *X¹BC⁵* : ferreris *m*¹.

856. erit *A²DMm²* : erat *Xm*¹.

858. citos *DXMm* : cito *A*.

860. prospicit ipse *m*¹ : prospicit (?) ipsa *A*¹ : perspicit ipse *A²DM¹* : prostitit ipse *m*¹ : perstitit ipse *X* : viderat ille *M*².

iure venis, Gradive : locum tua tempora poscunt,
 signatusque tuo nomine mensis adest.
 venimus in portum libro cum mense peracto :
 naviget hinc alia iam mihi linter aqua.

862. adest $DXMm^1$: erit m^2 : erat A .

864. naviget $ADXMm$: navigat *three S*. hinc $ADMm^2$: hic Xm^1 .
 mihi $ADXMm$: mea *a few S*.

beholds in his own plain. Thou Marching God (*Gradivus*), in thine own right thou comest. Thy season demands a place in my song, and the month marked by the name is at hand. We have come to port, for the book ends with the month. From this point may my bark now sail in other waters.

FASTORUM LIBER TERTIUS

LIBER TERTIUS

- Bellice, depositis clipeo paulisper et hasta,
 Mars, ades et nitidas casside solve comas.
 forsitan ipse roges, quid sit cum Marte poetae :
 a te, qui canitur, nomina mensis habet.
- 5 ipse vides manibus peragi fera bella Minervae :
 num minus ingenuis artibus illa vacat ?
 Palladis exemplo ponendae tempora sume
 cuspidis : invenies et quod inermis agas.
 tunc quoque inermis eras, cum te Romana sacerdos
- 10 cepit, ut huic urbi semina magna dares.
 Silvia Vestalis (quid enim vetat inde moveri ?)
 sacra lavaturas mane petebat aquas.
 ventum erat ad molli declivem tramite ripam :
 ponitur e summa fictilis urna coma.
- 15 fessa resedit humo ventosque accepit aperto
 pectore, turbatas restituitque comas.
 dum sedet, umbrosae salices volucresque canorae
 fecerunt somnos et leve murmur aquae.
 blanda quies furtim victis obrepsit ocellis,
- 20 et cadit a mento languida facta manus.
 Mars videt hanc visamque cupit potiturque cupita
 et sua divina furta fefellit ope.
 somnus abit, iacet ipsa gravis : iam scilicet intra
 viscera Romanae conditor urbis erat.
- 25 languida consurgit nec scit, cur languida surgat,
 et peragit talis arbore nixa sonos :

2. ades *UDXMM* : adest *A*. 3. roges *AUXMM* : rogas *D*.
 5. manibus peragi *AMM* : peragi manibus *X* : manibus fieri *D* : peragit
 . . . minerva *U*. 6. num *AUXM²m²* : non *DAM²m¹*.
 8. quod *AUDXM²* : quid *Mm¹*.
 9. tunc *AMM¹* : tum *UXm²* : tu *DCS*.
 10. ut *UXm* : et *ADM*. magna *ADXMm¹* : digna *Um²*. dares
AUDXM²m : daret *X¹*. 11. quid *AUDXM²m* : quis *M¹*.
 13. molli declivem *AUDXM²m* : mollem declivi *M¹*.
 15. humo *ADMM¹* : humi *UXm²*. accepit *AUXMM* : recepit *D*.

BOOK III

COME, warlike Mars; lay down thy shield and spear for
a brief space, and from thy helmet loose thy glistening locks.
Haply thou mayest ask, What has a poet to do with Mars?
From thee the month which now I sing doth take its name.
Thyself dost see that fierce wars are waged by Minerva's⁵
hands. Is she for that the less at leisure for the liberal arts?
After the pattern of Pallas take a time to put aside the lance.
Thou shalt find something to do unarmed. Then, too, wast
thou unarmed when the Roman priestess captivated thee,
that thou mightest bestow upon this city a great seed. 10

Silvia the Vestal (for why not start from her?) went in
the morning to fetch water to wash the holy things. When
she had come to where the path ran gently down the sloping
bank, she set down her earthenware pitcher from her head.
Weary, she sat her on the ground and opened her bosom¹⁵
to catch the breezes, and composed her ruffled hair. While
she sat, the shady willows and the tuneful birds and the soft
murmur of the water induced to sleep. Sweet slumber
overpowered and crept stealthily over her eyes, and her
languid hand dropped from her chin. Mars saw her; the²⁰
sight inspired him with desire, and his desire was followed
by possession, but by his power divine he hid his stolen
joys. Sleep left her; she lay big, for already within her
womb there was Rome's founder. Languid she rose, nor
knew why she rose languid, and leaning on a tree she spake²⁵

16. turbatus *UDXMM*: turbatus *A*.

19. obrepit ocellis *ADDM*: surrepsit ocellis *X*: surrepit ocellis *m*¹:
victos oppressit ocellos *m*²*C*⁵.

21. cupita *ADXMM*: penta *D*: cupitam *two* *S*. In defence of the
accusative Heinsius and Ramsay quote Cicero, Tuscul. Disput. i. 37. 90;
Terence, Adelph. 876, "Miseriam omnem ego capio, hic potitur gaudia."

23. ipsa *ADM*: illa *UXmBCS*. iam *UXm*: nam *ADM*.

24. viscera *ADDXMm*²: gentis *m*¹. erat *ADDXMm*²: eras *m*¹(?)*S*.

25. nec scit *ADMm*¹: nescit *UXm*².

26. arbore nixa *UXMm*: arbor enixa *A*.

- " utile sit faustumque, precor, quod imagine somni
 vidimus. an somno clarius illud erat ?
 30 ignibus Iliacis aderam, cum lapsa capillis
 decidit ante sacros lanea vitta focos.
 inde duae pariter, visu mirabile, palmae
 surgunt : ex illis altera maior erat,
 et gravibus ramis totum protexerat orbem
 contigeratque sua sidera summa coma.
 35 ecce meus ferrum patruus molitur in illas :
 terreor admonitu, corque timore micat.
 Martia picus avis gemino pro stipite pugnant
 et lupa : tuta per hos utraque palma fuit."
 dixerat et plenam non firmis viribus urnam
 40 sustulit ; implebat, dum sua visa refert.
 interea crescente Remo, crescente Quirino,
 caelesti tumidus pondere venter erat.
 quo minus emeritis exiret cursibus annus,
 restabant nitido iam duo signa deo :
 45 Silvia fit mater. Vestae simulacra feruntur
 virgineas oculis opposuisse manus ;
 ara deae certe tremuit pariente ministra,
 et subiit cineres territa flamma suos.
 hoc ubi cognovit contemptor Amulius aequi
 50 (nam raptas fratri victor habebat opes),
 amne iubet mergi geminos. scelus unda refugit ;
 in sicca pueri destituuntur humo.
 lacte quis infantes nescit crevisse ferino,
 et picum expositis saepe tulisse cibos ?
 55 non ego te, tantae nutrix Larentia gentis,
 nec taceam vestras, Faustule pauper, opes.
 vester honos veniet, cum Larentalia dicam :
 acceptus geniis illa December habet.

29. cum lapsa *AUDXM¹m* : collapsa *M²*.

30. lanea vitta *UM²m³* : lanea vita *A* : linea vitta *M¹* : laurea vitta *D* :
 vitta soluta *Xm¹*.

31. inde *AUDXMm²* : sede *m¹*.

33. protexerat *AUDXMm¹* : praetexerat *m²*.

34. sua *AUDMm²* : nova *Xm¹BC*.

35. molitur *UDXM* : molitur *Am*.

36. admonitu *ADXMm* : ammonitu *U*. micat *AMm²* : pavet
UXm¹BC² : salit *D*.

37. pugnant *m²* : pugnat *DXMm¹BC* and many *5* : pugnans *AU*.

42. tumidus *A²UDXMm* : tumidos *A¹*.

these words: "Useful and fortunate, I pray, may that turn out which I saw in a vision of sleep. Or was the vision too clear for sleep? Methought I was by the fire of Ilium, when the woollen fillet slipped from my hair and fell before the sacred hearth. From the fillet there sprang—a wondrous sight—two palm-trees side by side. Of them one was the taller and by its heavy boughs spread a canopy over the whole world, and with its foliage touched the topmost stars. Lo, mine uncle wielded an axe against the trees; the warning terrified me and my heart did throb with fear. A woodpecker—the bird of Mars—and a she-wolf fought in defence of the twin trunks, and by their help both of the palms were saved." She finished speaking, and by a feeble effort lifted the full pitcher; she had filled it while she was telling her vision. Meantime her belly swelled with a heavenly burden, for Remus was growing, and growing, too, was Quirinus.

When now two heavenly signs remained for the bright god to traverse, before the year could complete its course and run out, Silvia became a mother. The images of Vesta are said to have covered their eyes with their virgin hands; certainly the altar of the goddess trembled, when her priestess was brought to bed, and the terrified flame sank under its own ashes. When Amulius learned of this, scorner of justice that he was (for he had vanquished his brother and robbed him of power), he ordered the twins to be sunk in the river. The water shrank from such a crime, and the boys were left on dry land. Who knows not that the infants thrived on the milk of a wild beast, and that a woodpecker often brought food to the abandoned babes? Nor would I pass thee by in silence, Larentia, nurse of so great a nation, nor the help that thou didst give, poor Faustus. Your honour will find its place when I come to tell of the Larentalia; that festival falls in December, the month dear

43. cursibus *AUDMm*¹: mensibus *Xm*². 44. duo *UDXMM*: sua *A*.

47. certe tremuit *AUDXMM*¹: crepuit certe *m*².

48. suos *AUXMm*: suas *D*.

49. hoc *AUDXm*²: haec *Mm*¹. uequi *UDXMM*: equi *A*.

51. geminos *ADXMM*(corrected): pueros *U*.

55. larentia a few *S*: laurentia *AUDXMM*.

57. larentalia one *S*: laurentalia *AUDXMM*.

- 60 Martia ter senos proles adoleverat annos,
 et suberat flavae iam nova barba comae :
 omnibus agricolis armentorumque magistris
 Iliadae fratres iura petita dabant.
 saepe domum veniunt praedonum sanguine laeti
 et redigunt actos in sua rura boves.
 65 ut genus audierunt, animos pater editus auget,
 et pudet in paucis nomen habere casis,
 Romuleoque cadit traiectus Amulius onse,
 regnaque longaevo restituuntur avo.
 moenia conduntur, quae quamvis parva fuerunt,
 70 non tamen expedit transsiluisse Remo.
 iam, modo quae fuerant silvae pecorumque recessus,
 urbs erat, aeternae cum pater urbis ait :
 "arbiter armorum, de cuius sanguine natus
 credor (et, ut credar, pignora multa dabo),
 75 a te principium Romano dicimus anno :
 primus de patrio nomine mensis erit."
 vox rata fit, patrioque vocat de nomine mensem.
 dicitur haec pietas grata fuisse deo.
 et tamen ante omnes Martem coluere priores :
 80 hoc dederat studiis bellica turba suis.
 Pallada Cecropidae, Minoiā Creta Dianam,
 Volcanum tellus Hypsipylea colit,
 Iunonem Sparte Pelopeïadesque Mycenae,
 pinigerum Fauni Maenalis ora caput :
 85 Mars Latio venerandus erat, quia praesidet armis :
 arma ferae genti remque decusque dabant.
 quod si forte vacas, peregrinos inspicere fastos :
 mensis in his etiam nomine Martis erit.
 tertius Albanis, quintus fuit ille Faliscis,
 90 sextus apud populos, Hernica terra, tuos.

61. magistris *UXm*¹ : ministris *ADAm*².

62. Iliadae *AUXMm* : Iliades *D*.

64. redigunt *AUDXMM* : redimunt *M*². actos *AUXMM* : actas
D : aptas *M*². rura *XM*^{2m}¹ : iura *AUDAM*².

65. audierunt *A* : audierant *UDXMM*. editus *DXMM* : reditus *A* :
 agnitus *U*.

66. paucis *AUm*¹ : parvis *DXMM*².

71. iam *AUXMm* : nam *D*. quae *AUM* : qua *DS* : quod *Xm*².
 pecorumque *AUXMM*² : pecudumque *m*¹ : nemorumque *D*.

72. cum *AUMm*² : tum *DXm*¹.

to the mirthful spirits. Thrice six years old was the progeny of Mars, and already under their yellow hair sprouted a fresh young beard; to all the husbandmen and masters of herds the brothers, sons of Ilia, gave judgement by request. Often they came home glad at blood of robbers spilt, and 5 to their own domain drove back the raided kine. When they heard the secret of their birth, their spirits rose with the revelation of their sire, and they thought shame to have a name in a few huts. Amulius fell, pierced by the sword of Romulus, and the kingdom was restored to their aged 10 grandfather. Walls were built, which, small though they were, it had been better for Remus not to have overleaped. And now what of late had been woods and pastoral solitudes was a city, when thus the father of the eternal city spake: "Umpire of war, from whose blood I am 15 believed to have sprung (and to confirm that belief I will give many proofs), we name the beginning of the Roman year after thee; the first month shall be called by my father's name." The promise was kept; he did call the month by his father's name: this pious deed is said to have 20 been well pleasing to the god. And yet the earlier ages had worshipped Mars above all the gods; therein a warlike folk followed their bent. Pallas is worshipped by the sons of Cecrops, Diana by Minoan Crete, Vulcan by the Hypsipylean land, Juno by Sparta and Pelopid Mycenae, while 25 the Maenalian country worships Faunus, whose head is crowned with pine. Mars was the god to be revered by Latium, for that he is the patron of the sword; 'twas the sword that won for a fierce race empire and glory

If you are at leisure, look into the foreign calendars, and 30 you shall find in them also a month named after Mars. It was the third month in the Alban calendar, the fifth in the Faliscan, the sixth among thy peoples, land of the Hernicans.

74. multa *AUDXM*²*m*: certa *M*¹.

75. dicimus *AUDm*²: ducimus *XMm*¹*BC* and many *S*.

76. erit *UDMm*²: eris *A*: eat *Xm*¹*BC*: erat *S*.

79. omnes *AUXM*¹*m*: deos *M*²: homines *D*.

81. creta *AUDXM*²*m*: turba *M*¹.

82. hypsipylea *M*: hipsipilea *A*: hipsipylea *U*.

83. sparte *A*: spartac *DXM*: sparthac *Um*.

84. pinigerum *AUDm*: piniferum *XM*.

87. vacas *AUDXm*¹: vacat *Mm*².

- inter Aricinos Albanaque tempora constat
 factaque Telegoni moenia celsa manu.
 quintum Laurentes, bis quintum Aequiculus acer,
 a tribus hunc primum turba Curensis habet ;
 95 et tibi cum proavis, miles Peligne, Sabinis
 convenit : huic genti quartus utrique deus.
 Romulus hos omnes ut vinceret ordine saltem,
 sanguinis auctori tempora prima dedit.
 nec totidem veteres, quot nunc, habuere Kalendas :
 100 ille minor geminis mensibus annus erat.
 nondum tradiderat victas victoribus artes
 Graccia, facundum sed male forte genus.
 qui bene pugnabat, Romanam noverat artem :
 mittere qui poterat pila, disertus erat.
 105 quis tunc aut Hyadas aut Pleiadas Atlanteas
 senserat, aut geminos esse sub axe polos ?
 esse duas Arctos, quarum Cynosura petatur
 Sidoniis, Helicen Graia carina notet ?
 signaque quae longo frater percenseat anno,
 110 ire per haec uno mense sororis equos ?
 libera currebant et inobservata per annum
 sidera ; constabat sed tamen esse deos.
 non illi caelo labentia signa tenebant,
 sed sua, quae magnum perdere crimen erat.
 115 illa quidem foeno ; sed erat reverentia foeni,
 quantam nunc aquilas cernis habere tuas.
 pertica suspensos portabat longa maniplos,
 unde manipularis nomina miles habet.
 ergo animi indociles et adhuc ratione carentes
 120 mensibus egerunt lustra minora decem.

91. constat *ADMm*² : constant *U* and a few *S* : restant *N* : restant *m*¹

93. quintum laurentes *AUDXMm*¹ : quartum laurentes *M*² : quartum laurentes bis quartum *one S* (*compare Ph.E. Huschke, Das alte romische Jahr und seine Tage, p. 9 note 13*) : nonum *Th. Bergk.* acer *AMm*² : asper *UDXm*¹.

94. a tribus *UDXMm* : auribus *A.* curensis *UX(in erasure)m*¹ : forensis *ADMm*².

95. peligne *AUDXMm* : paeligne *Peter^A, Ehwald-Levy.*

96. huic *AUDMm*² : hic *Xm*¹. utrique *DMm*² : uterque *AUXMm*². deus *XMm* : deus *A.*

103. pugnabat *UDXMm*¹ : pugnabant *A* : pugnarat *m*².

104. pila *AUDXm* : tela *M.*

106. polos *UDXMm* : polo *A.*

The Arician calendar is in agreement with the Alban and with that of the city whose lofty walls were built by the hand of Telegonus. It is the fifth month in the calendar of the Lauretes, the tenth in the calendar of the hardy Aequians, the fourth in the calendar of the folk of Cures, and the 5 soldierly Pelignians agree with their Sabine forefathers; both peoples reckon Mars the god of the fourth month. In order that he might take precedence of all these, Romulus assigned the beginning of the year to the author of his being.

10

Nor had the ancients as many Calends as we have now: their year was short by two months. Conquered Greece had not yet transmitted her arts to the victors; her people were eloquent but hardly brave. The doughty warrior understood the art of Rome, and he who could throw 15 javelins was eloquent. Who then had noticed the Hyades or the Pleiades, daughters of Atlas, or that there were two poles in the firmament? and that there are two Bears, of which the Sidonians steer by Cynosura, while the Grecian mariner keeps his eye on Helice? and that the signs which 20 the brother travels through in a long year the horses of the sister traverse in a single month? The stars ran their courses free and unmarked throughout the year; yet everybody agreed that they were gods. Heaven's gliding ensigns were beyond their reach, not so their own, to lose 25 which was a great crime. Their ensigns were of hay, but as deep reverence was paid to hay as now you see paid to the eagles. A long pole carried the hanging bundles (*maniplos*); from them the private (*maniplaris*) soldier takes his name. Hence through ignorance and lack of science they reckoned 30 lustres, each of which was too short by ten months. A year

107. petatur *AMm*²: vocatur *UXm*¹*Cs*: notatur *D*.108. notet *AMm*²: notat *U*²*Dm*²: vocat *U*¹*m*¹: nocet *V*: tenet *Bs*.109. percenseat anno *AU*²*DXM*¹*m*: transcurrit in anno *M*².111. et inobservata *UXm*¹*hCs*: non observata *ADMm*². annum *AUDMm*²: annos *Xm*¹.112. constabat *U*²*DXMm*: constabant *AU*¹. deos *UDXM*: deo *A*.113. tenebant *AUXMm*²: notabant *Ds*: movebant *m*¹.115. illaque de faeno two 5, Scaliger. foeno *AUXMm*: foeni *D*.119. indociles *UDXMm*: indocibiles *A*.

- annus erat, decimum cum luna receperat orbem :
 hic numerus magno tunc in honore fuit ;
 seu quia tot digiti, per quos numerare solemus,
 seu quia bis quinto femina mense parit,
 125 seu quod adusque decem numero crescente venit,ur,
 principium spatijs sumitur inde novis.
 inde patres centum denos secrevit in orbes
 Romulus, hastatos instituitque decem ;
 et totidem princeps, totidem pilanus habebat
 130 corpora, legitimo quique merebat equo.
 quin etiam partes totidem Titiensibus ille,
 quosque vocant Ramnes, Luceribusque dedit.
 adsueto igitur numeros servavit in anno.
 hoc luget spatio femina maesta virum.
 135 neu dubites, primae fuerint quin ante Kalendae
 Martis, ad haec animum signa referre potes.
 laurea, flaminibus quae toto perstitit anno,
 tollitur, et frondes sunt in honore novae.
 ianua tunc regis posita viret arbore Phoebi :
 140 ante tuas fit idem, curia prisca, fores.
 Vesta quoque ut folio niteat velata recenti,
 cedit ab Iliacis laurea cana focus.
 adde, quod arcana fieri novus ignis in aede
 dicitur, et vires flamma relecta capit.
 145 nec mihi parva fides, annos hinc isse priores,
 Anna quod hoc coepta est mense Perenna coli.
 hinc etiam veteres initi memorantur honores
 ad spatium belli, perfide Poene, tui.

121. receperat *AUDXMM* : repleverat *two or three S* (compare Fasti ii. 175).

122. numerus *AUDXMM*³ : nostris *m*¹.

124. quinto *Madvig* (Adversaria ii. 106) : quino *AUDXMM* and apparently all other MSS. See Housman on Manilius iv. 451, comparing Ovid, Fasti iii. 93 "bis quintum," id. vi. 768 "Quintus ab extremo mense bis ille dies," Pliny, Nat. Hist. vi. 213 "accedente bis quinta parte unius horae."

126. novis *A¹U²DXMM* : nobis *A¹U¹*.

127. inde patres *UDXMM* : impares *A* : inde pares *BCS*. orbes *ADMM*¹ : urbe *DX(?)m*².

130. legitimo *UDXMM* : legitima *A*. quique *UDXMM* : quoque *A*.

131. titiensibus *A²AI* : ticiensibus *D* : ticiensibus *m*² : titientibus *U²* : totiensibus *A¹* : tutiensibus *X* : tatiensibus *m*² : cupientibus *U¹m*¹. ille *AUDXMM* : idem *two S*.

135. neu *AUDMM*² : nec *Xm*² : ne *m*¹.

was counted when the moon had returned to the full for the tenth time : that number was then in great honour, whether because that is the number of the fingers by which we are wont to count, or because a woman brings forth in twice five months, or because the numerals increase up to ten, 5 and from that we start a fresh round. Hence Romulus divided the hundred senators into ten groups, and instituted ten companies of spearmen (*hastati*) ; and just so many companies there were of first-line men (*principes*), and also of javelin men (*pilani*) ; and so too with the men who served 10 on horses furnished by the state. Nay, Romulus assigned just the same number of divisions to the tribes, the Titienses, the Ramnes, as they are called, and the Luceres. Therefore in his arrangement of the year he kept the familiar number. That is the period for which a sad wife mourns for her husband. 15

If you would convince yourself that the Calends of March were really the beginning of the year, you may refer to the following proofs : the laurel branch of the flamens, after remaining in its place the whole year, is removed (on that day), and fresh leaves are put in the place of honour ; then the 20 king's door is green with the tree of Phœbus, which is set at it ; and at thy portal, Old Chapel of the Wards, the same thing is done ; the withered laurel is withdrawn from the Ilia hearth, that Vesta also may make a brave show, dressed in fresh leaves. Besides 'tis said that a new fire is 25 lighted in her secret shrine, and the rekindled flame gains strength. And to my thinking no small proof that the years of old began with March is furnished by the observation that Anna Perenna begins to be worshipped in this month. With March, too, the magistrates are recorded to 30 have entered on office, down to the time when, faithless Carthaginian, thou didst wage thy war. Lastly, the month

136. potes A^2UDXMM : putes A^1 .

137. quae toto $AUXAN$: toto quae D .

138. novae $AUDXMM$: deae M^2 .

139. tunc $ADXMM^2$: tum Um^1 .

140. fit idem $AUDXM^2m^2$: itidem M^1m^1B and many ζ .

141. folio niteat $AUDXM$: niteat folio mBC^5 .

145. isse X^2m^2F and a few ζ : esse $AUDX^1Mm^1BC$ and many ζ .

146. perenna U^2Xm^1 : repente ADM^2BC and many ζ .

- denique quintus ab hoc fuerat Quintilis, et inde
 150 incipit, a numero nomina quisquis habet.
 primus oliviferis Romam deductus ab arvis
 Pompilius menses sensit abesse duos,
 sive hoc a Samio doctus, qui posse renasci
 nos putat, Egeria sive monente sua.
 155 sed tamen errabant etiam nunc tempora, donec
 Caesaris in multis haec quoque cura fuit.
 non haec ille deus tantaeque propaginis auctor
 credidit officiis esse minora suis,
 promissumque sibi voluit praenoscere caelum
 160 nec deus ignotas hospes inire domos.
 ille moras solis, quibus in sua signa rediret,
 traditur exactis disposuisse notis.
 is decies senos tercentum et quinque diebus
 iunxit et e pleno tempora quinta die.
 165 hic anni modus est : in lustrum accedere debet,
 quae consummatur partibus, una dies.

- " si licet occultos monitus audire deorum
 vatibus, ut certe fama licere putat,
 cum sis officiis, Gradive, virilibus aptus,
 170 dic mihi, matronae cur tua festa colant "
- sic ego. sic posita dixit mihi casside Mavors,
 sed tamen in dextra missilis hasta fuit :
 " nunc primum studiis pacis, deus utilis armis,
 advocor et gressus in nova castra fero,
 175 nec piget incepti ; iuvat hac quoque parte morari,
 hoc solam ne se posse Minerva putet.
 disce, Latinorum vates operose dierum,
 quod petis, et memori pectore dicta nota.

150. a numero *UDXMm*¹ : in numero *Am*².

155. etiam nunc *AM* and many 5 : etiam tunc *UDXm* : etiamnum *Heinsius*.

156. in *AUDXMm* · ut *M*².

161. signa *ADMm*² · regna *UXm*¹.

162. disposuisse *AUXMm* : deposuisse *D*. notis *UXDMm* : noctis *A*.

163. senos *AUDMm*¹ : senis *X(corrected)m*².

164. e pleno *AUDMm*¹ : e teplo *X¹m*² : explevit *Huschke* (Das alte römische Jahr und seine Tage, p. 127). quinta *ADM*² and many 5 : quarta *M²m*¹ : iuncta *UXMm*¹C.

165. in lustrum *AUMm(corrected)* : hinc'tto *D* : huic iusto (e *written above* o) *X(corrected)*.

of Quintilis is the fifth (*quintus*) month, reckoned from March, and with it begin the months which take their names from numbers. (Numa) Pompilius, who was escorted to Rome from the lands where olives grow, was the first to perceive that two months were lacking to the year, whether he learned 5 that from the Samian sage who thought that we could be born again, or whether it was his Egeria who taught him. Nevertheless the calendar was still erratic down to the time when Caesar took it, like so much else, in charge. That 10 god, the founder of a mighty line, did not deem the matter beneath his attention. Fain was he to foreknow that heaven which was his promised home; he would not enter as a stranger god mansions unknown. He is said to have drawn up an exact table of the periods within which the sun 15 returns to his proper signs. To three hundred and five days he added ten times six days and a fifth part of a whole day. That is the measure of the year. The single day compounded of the (five) parts is to be added to the lustre.

KAL. MART. 1st.

"If bards may list to secret promptings of the gods, as surely rumour thinks they may, tell me, thou Marching God 20 (*Gradivus*), why matrons keep thy feast, whereas thou art apter to receive service from men." Thus I inquired, and thus did Mars answer me, laying aside his helmet, though in his right hand he kept his throwing spear: "Now for the first time in the year am I, a god of war, invoked to 25 promote the pursuits of peace, and I march into new camps, nor does it irk me so to do. Upon this function also do I love to dwell, lest Minerva should fancy that such power is hers alone. Thy answer take, laborious singer of the Latin days, and write my words on memory's tablets. If 30

167. si licet U^2DX^2M : scilicet AU^1X^1m .168. putat UDX^1Mm : putet A .169. virilibus UDX^1m : viribus A : et viribus M .170. colant $ADMM^1$: colunt UX^1m^2BC .171. casside $AUDMm^1$: cuspidē Xm^2S (approved by Heinsius). In defence of casside Gierig quotes Ovid, Metamorph. xiv. 806, "posita cum casside Mavors."174. fero A^2UDX^1Mm : fere A^1 .175. morari $AUDX^1Mm^2$: moveri m^1 .176. solam $A^2U(?)Mm^1$: solum $A^1DX^1m^2$.

- parva fuit, si prima velis elementa referre,
 180 Roma, sed in parva spes tamen huius erat.
 moenia iam stabant, populis angusta futuris,
 credita sed turbae tunc nimis ampla suae.
 quae fuerit nostri, si quaeris, regia nati,
 aspice de canna straminibusque domum.
 185 in stipula placidi capiebat munera somni,
 et tamen ex illo venit in astra toro.
 iamque loco maius nomen Romanus habebat,
 nec coniunx illi nec socer ullus erat.
 spernebant generos inopes vicinia dives,
 190 et male credebar sanguinis auctor ego.
 in stabulis habitasse et oves pavissee nocebat
 iugeraque inculti pauca tenere soli.
 cum pare quaeque suo coeunt volucresque feraeque,
 atque aliquam, de qua procreet, anguis habet ;
 195 extremis dantur connubia gentibus : at quae
 Romano vellet nubere, nulla fuit.
 indolui ' patriamque dedi tibi, Romule, mentem :
 tolle preces,' dixi ' quod petis arma dabunt.'
 festa parat Conso. Consus tibi cetera dicet
 200 illo facta die, dum sua sacra canes.
 intumuere Cures et quos dolor attigit idem :
 tum primum generis intulit arma socer.
 iamque fere raptae matrum quoque nomen habebant,
 tractaque erant longa bella propinqua mora :
 205 conveniunt nuptae dictam Iunonis in aedem,
 quas inter mea sic est nurus ausa loqui :
 ' o pariter raptae (quoniam hoc commune tenemus)
 non ultra lente possumus esse piaae.

179. referre *AUDXM¹m* : notare *M²*.

180. huius *AMm²* : urbis *UDXm¹*.

182. tunc *AUDMm¹* : tum *Xm²*.

184. canna *ADXm¹* : cannis *Um²*.

185. capiebat *AUXMm* : carpebat *D*.

188. socer *UDXMm* : sacer *A*.

189. spernebant *AU* : spernebat *DXMm*.

190. credebar *AUDMm²* : dicebar *Xm¹*.

195. extremis *AUXm¹* : externis *DMm²*.

connubia *XMm* : conubia

AUD.

197. patriamque *AUXMm* : patriumque *D*.

199. parat *A¹* : para *A²UDXMm* and apparently all other MSS.

200. illo *AUMm¹* : illa *DXm²*. facta *DXMm²* : festa *Um¹* : festi (?)

you would trace it back to its beginning, Rome was but little, nevertheless in that little town was hope of this great city. The walls were already standing, boundaries too cramped for future peoples, but then deemed too large for their inhabitants. If you ask what my son's palace was, behold yon house of reeds and straw. There on the litter did he take the boon of peaceful sleep, and yet from that same bed he passed among the stars. Already the Roman had a name that reached beyond his city, but neither wife nor wife's father had he. Wealthy neighbours scorned to take poor men for their sons-in-law; hardly did they believe that I myself was the author of the breed. It told against the Romans that they dwelt in cattle-stalls, and fed sheep, and owned a few acres of waste land. Birds and beasts mate each with its kind, and a snake has some female of which to breed. The right of intermarriage is granted to peoples far away; yet was there no people that would wed with Romans. I chafed and said, 'Thy father's temper, Romulus, I have bestowed on thee. A truce to prayers! What thou seekest, arms will give.' Romulus prepared a feast for Consus. The rest that happened on that day Consus will tell thee, when thou shalt come to sing of his rites. Cures and all who suffered the same wrong were furious: then for the first time did a father wage war upon his daughters' husbands. And now the ravished brides could claim the style of mothers also, and yet the war between the kindred folks kept lingering on, when the wives assembled by appointment in the temple of Juno. Among them my son's wife thus made bold to speak: 'O wives ravished alike—for that is a trait we have in common—no longer may we dawdle in our duties to our kin. The

A: gesta *Heinsius*. dum *AUDMm*²: cum *Xm*¹*BC*. canes *AUDXm*: coles *M*: canet *Gronovius*, *Ehwald-Levy*.

201. quos *UDXm*²: quod *A*.

202. tum *AUXMm*¹: tunc *Dm*².

203. fere *AUXm*: fere *D*. habebant *A²UDXm*: habebat *A¹*.

206. mea sic est nurus ausa *AUDM*: medias sic nurus ausa *Xm*¹: ausa *BC* and many *S*: orsa a few *S*.

207. quoniam *AUXMm*²: quacque *Dm*¹.

208. lente *AUDm*²: lentae *M*: certe *Xm*¹. lentae . . . pie *Madvig* (*Adversaria* ii. 106).

- stant acies, sed utra di sint pro parte rogandi,
 210 eligit : hinc coniunx, hinc pater arma tenet.
 quaerendum est, viduae fieri malitis an orbae :
 consilium vobis forte piumque dabo.
 consilium dederat : parent crinesque resolvunt
 maestaque funerea corpora veste tegunt.
 215 iam steterant acies ferro mortique paratae,
 iam lituus pugnae signa daturus erat :
 cum raptae veniunt inter patresque virosque,
 inque sinu natos, pignora cara, tenent.
 ut medium campi passis tetigere capillis,
 220 in terram posito procubuerunt genu,
 et, quasi sentirent, blando clamore nepotes
 tendebant ad avos brachia parva suos :
 qui poterat clamabat avum tum denique visum,
 et qui vix poterat posse coactus erat.
 225 tela viris animique cadunt, gladiisque remotis
 dant soceri generis accipiuntque manus,
 laudatasque tenent natas, scutoque nepotem
 fert avus : hic scuti dulcior usus erat.
 inde diem, quae prima, meas celebrare Kalendas
 230 Oebaliae matres non leve munus habent,

210. tenet *AUDXm*: tenent a few $\bar{\epsilon}$.

211. malitis *AD* and apparently most *MS.*: malimus *UXMm*.

212. vobis *UDXmC* and many $\bar{\epsilon}$: nobis *A*.

213. crinesque *AUDM*¹: crinemque *Xm*².

215. steterant *ADMM*²: stabant *UXm*¹. mortique *AUDXm*:

martique *M*.

216. lituus pugnae *AUMm*²: lituo tubicen *DXm*²: lituus tubicen *m*¹:
 liticen pugnae *Heinrius*. 218. tenent *AUDMm*²: ferunt *Xm*¹.

219. passis *UDXmBC*: scissis *AMm*². *The reading passis appears to have the better MS. authority, and certainly it agrees better with verses 213 crinesque resolvunt and 257 resolute crine, and with the parallel passage in Livy i. 13, 1 ("Sabinæ mulieres . . . crinibus passis scissaque veste," etc.) which Ovid probably had before his eyes. Pandere capillos (or crines) is to dishevel the hair and let it hang loose; it is a gesture of supplication or prayer. Compare Ovid, Tristia i. 3. 43 "illa etiam ante Lares passis (sparsis alii) adstrata capillis"; Virgil, Aen. i. 479 sqq. "interea ad templum non aequae Palladis ibant crinibus Iliades passis pepulnūque terebant suppliciter"; Petronius, Satyr. 44 "antea stolatae ibant nudis pedibus in clivum, passis capillis, mentibus puris, et Iovem aquam exorabant." Scindere capillos (or crines) is to tear the hair; it is a gesture of grief or anger. Compare Ovid, Heroides iii. 79 "neve meos coram scindi patiari capillos"; id. viii. 77 sq. "ipsa ego, non longos etiam tunc scissa capillos, | clamabam"; Amores iii. 6. 71 sq. "sera tamen scindens inimico pollice crinem | edidit indignos ore tremante sonos"; Virgil, Aen. xii. 870 "infelix crinis scindit Iuturna solutos | unguibus ora soror foedans et pectora pugnis"; Accius, quoted by Cicero, Tuscul. Disput.*

battle is set in array, but choose for which side ye will pray the gods to intervene : on one side stand your husbands in arms and on the other side your sires : the question is whether ye prefer to be widows or orphans. I will give you a piece of advice both bold and dutiful.' She gave⁵ the advice : they obeyed, and unbound their hair, and clad their bodies in the sad weeds of mourners. Already the armies were drawn up in array, alert for carnage ; already the bugle was about to give the signal for battle, when the ravished wives interposed between their fathers and husbands, bearing¹⁰ at their bosoms the dear pledges of love, their babes. When with their streaming hair they reached the middle of the plain, they knelt down on the ground, and the grandchildren stretched out their little arms to their grandfathers with winsome cries, as if they understood. Such as could cried¹⁵ 'Grandfather !' to him whom then they saw for the first time ; such as could hardly do it were forced to try. The weapons and the passions of the warriors fall, and laying their swords aside fathers-in-law and sons-in-law grasp each other's hands. They praise and embrace their daughters,²⁰ and the grandsire carries his grandchild on his shield ; that was a sweeter use to which to put the shield. Hence the duty, no light one, of celebrating the first day, my Calends, is incumbent on Oebalian mothers, either because,

iii. 26-62 "scindens dolore identidem intonsam comam." *Thus in the present passage the appropriate expression is passis capillis, not scissis capillis. It is to be observed, however, that women in mourning often did not tear their hair, but contented themselves with letting it hang loose. Compare Ovid, Fasti iv. 854 "maestas Atca soluta comas"; id., Heroides x. 137 "adspice demissos lugentis more capillos." In Morocco the same distinction is observed between dishevelled and tearing the hair. There, too, the hair is torn or cut in mourning, but dishevelled in religious or magical rites, especially, as at Rome, in rites designed to produce rain. See E. Westermarck, Ritual and Belief in Morocco (London, 1926), i. 126, ii. 262, 267, 268, 270, 396, 424, 438-441, 493-495, 519-521. tetigere AUDXMM : tenuere 5.*

221. blando AUXMM : blandi D. clamore AUDXMM³ : sermone m¹.

223. tum AXm¹ : tunc UDMm².

225. viris UDXMM : vires A.

228. avus UDXMM : avos A.

229. inde diem quae primi meas AUm¹ : inde die quae prima meas X : inde diem primasque meas DMm²C' and many 5 : inde mei primas mensis Riese : inde diem, quae priva, meas Merkel³ : inde dies quae prima meu est Ehwald : inde diem quae prima mea est Rappold. celebrare AUDXMM : celebrate Ehwald-Levy.

230. oebaliae AUM¹m : ebaliae D : ebalidae X : italiae M² : italides a few 5. munus UDXm¹ : numen Mm² : nomen A.

- aut quia committi strictis mucronibus ausae
 finierant lacrimis Martia bella suis ;
 vel quod erat de me feliciter Ilia mater,
 rite colunt matres sacra diemque meum.
- 235 quid, quod hiems adoperta gelu tunc denique cedit,
 et pereunt lapsae sole tepente nives,
 arboribus redeunt detonsae frigore frondes,
 uvidaque in tenero palmite gemma tumet,
 quaeque diu latuit, nunc se qua tollat in auras,
- 240 fertilis occultas invenit herba vias ?
 nunc fecundus ager, pecoris nunc hora creandi,
 nunc avis in ramo tecta laremque parat :
 tempora iure colunt Latiae fecunda parentes,
 quarum militiam votaue partus habet.
- 245 adde quod, excubias ubi rex Romanus agebat,
 qui nunc Esquilias nomina collis habet,
 illic a nuribus Iunoni templa Latinis
 hac sunt, si memini, publica facta die.
 quid moror et variis onero tua pectora causis ?
- 250 eminet ante oculos, quod petis, ecce tuos.
 mater amat nuptas : matrum me turba frequentat :
 haec nos praecipue tam pia causa decet.”
 fert deae flores : gaudet florentibus herbis
 haec dea : de tenero cingite flore caput :
- 255 dicite “ tu nobis lucem, Lucina, dedisti ” :
 dicite “ tu voto parturientis ades.”
 si qua tamen gravida est, resoluta crine precetur,
 ut solvat partus molliter illa suos.

Quis mihi nunc dicet, quare caelestia Martis
 260 arma ferant Salii Mamuriumque canant ?

231. aut *AU²DXMm¹* : an *U¹m²*. 235. tunc *ADMm²* : tum *UXm¹*.
 236. lapsae *AUDM²m²* : victae *UXM¹m¹* : ictae *Heinsius* : tactae *Riese*.
 237. detonsae *AUMm²* : excussae *DXm¹*.
 238. uvidaque *UMm²* : humidaque *D* : nudaque *A* : vivaque *Xm²* : vivida-
 que *m¹*. in *AUDXm²m* : e a few *S*. tenero *AUDXm²m¹* : gravido *m²*.
 239. tollat *UDM²m* : tollit *A²X* : tollit *M²* in auras *UDXm¹m* : in
 aures *A* : ad auras *M²*.
 241. pecoris *AU²DXMm* : pecori est *U¹*. creandi *AUXMm* : creandi
 est *D*. 242. ramo *AUDMm²* : ramis *X²* : ramos *X¹m¹*.
 245. adde quod *AUDXm* : adde et *m*. ubi rex *ADXm²m²* : regi *Um¹*.
 agebat *AMm²* : habebat *UDXm¹*. *Heinsius proposed to correct lines 245, 246*
as follows :

boldly thrusting themselves on the bare blades; they by their tears did end these martial wars; or else mothers duly observe the rites on my day, because Ilia was happily made a mother by me. Moreover, frosty winter then at last retires, and the snows perish, melted by the warm sun; the 5 leaves, shorn by the cold, return to the trees, and moist within the tender shoot the bud doth swell; now too the rank grass, long hidden, discovers secret paths whereby to lift its head in air. Now is the field fruitful, now is the hour for breeding cattle, now doth the bird upon the bough 10 construct a nest and home; 'tis right that Latin mothers should observe the fruitful season, for in their travail they both fight and pray. Add to this that where the Roman king kept watch, on the hill which now bears the name of Esquiline, a temple was founded, if I remember aright, on 15 this very day by the Latin matrons in honour of Juno. But why should I spin out the time and burden your memory with various reasons? The answer that you seek stands out plainly before your eyes. My mother loves brides; a crowd of mothers throngs my temple; so pious a reason is 20 above all becoming to her and me." Bring ye flowers to the goddess; this goddess delights in flowering plants; with fresh flowers wreath your heads. Say ye, "Thou, Lucina, hast bestowed on us the light (*lucem*) of life"; say ye, "Thou dost hear the prayer of women in travail." But let her 25 who is with child unbind her hair before she prays, in order that the goddess may gently unbind her teeming womb.

Who will now tell me why the Salii bear the heavenly weapons of Mars and sing of Mamurius? Inform me, thou

"Adde quod excubias regi Romanus agebat
Qua nunc Esquilias nomina collis habet."

246. *esquilias AD: exquilias UMM¹: esquiliae X. exquiliae m². nomina AUDXMM³: nomine m¹.*

249. *moror UDXMm: morer A. causis AUDMm¹. dictis Xm².*

250. *ecce AUDMm³: ipse Xm²: ante m³.*

251. *matrum me AD, Mm³: matrem quoque U. frequentat AUDXMMm³: frequentant X¹m¹. matris me turba frequentant Heinsius: matrem mea turba frequentat Merkel². 252. nos AUDXMM¹: vos m³.*

255. *nobis lucem AUDXM: lucem nobis m.*

258. *illa AUMm³: ipsa DXm¹. 259. nunc AUDXMMm³: non m¹.*

260. *ferant AUDXMM: ferunt S. mamuriumque Xm: mammurium-que AU: marmuriumque DM. canant AUXM³m: vocant DM³.*

- nympha, mone, nemori stagnoque operata Dianae ;
 nympha, Numae coniunx, ad tua facta veni.
 vallis Aricinae silva praecinctus opaca
 est lacus, antiqua religione sacer.
 265 hic latet Hippolytus loris direptus equorum,
 unde nemus nullis illud aditur equis.
 licia dependent longas velantia saepes,
 et posita est meritae multa tabella deae.
 saepe potens voti, frontem redimita coronis,
 270 femina lucentes portat ab urbe faces.
 regna tenent fortes manibus pedibusque fugaces,
 et perit exemplo postmodo quisque suo.
 defluit incerto lapidosus murmure rivus :
 saepe, sed exiguis haustibus, inde bibi.
 275 Egeria est, quae praebet aquas, dea grata Camenis :
 illa Numae coniunx consiliumque fuit.
 principio nimium promptos ad bella Quirites
 molliri placuit iure deumque metu ;
 inde datae leges, ne firmior omnia posset,
 280 coeptaque sunt pure tradita sacra coli.
 exiit feritas, armisque potentius aequum est,
 et cum cive pudet conseruisse manus ;
 atque aliquis, modo trux, visa iam vertitur ara
 vinaque dat tepidis farraque salsa focis.
 285 ecce deum genitor rutilas per nubila flammās
 spargit et effusis aethera siccāt aquis ;
 non alias missi cecidere frequentius ignes :
 rex pavet et volgi pectora terror habet.

261. mone *AUDXAM*¹*m*¹. move *M*²; numae *m*². operata *AUXAM*¹*m*¹: adoperta *DXAM*²*m*².

262. facta *AUXAM*²*m*²; sacra *DM*¹*s*⁻; festa *m*²*s*⁻; lata *m*¹.

263. aricinae *UDXAM*; aricinae *A*.

264. lacus *AUDAM*¹*m*²; locus *XAM*¹.

265. latet *AUDM*¹; latet *Xm*²*BC*. loris *As*⁻; furis *UDXMMBC*⁻. direptus *AUDm*²*s*⁻; distractus *XAM*¹*BC*; decerptus *m*². *The reading loris is supported by* Fasti, vi. 743 *sq.* "Exciderat curru lorisque morantibus | Hippolytus lacero corpore raptus erat"; and Metamorph. xv. 524 *sqq.*, where Hippolytus, describing his own death, says: "Excutor curru, lorisque tenentibus artus viscera viva trahi nervosque in stirpe teneri," etc.

266. aditur *AUDXMM*²; initur *m*¹.

267. saepes *AXm*; sepes *UDM*.

269. frontem *AUDm*²; multis *XAM*¹.

271. fortes manibus pedibusque fugaces *UXAMm*² and many *s*: fortesque manu pedibusque fugaces *DXAM*¹*BC*: fortes manibusque fugaces *A*.

nymph who on Diana's grove and lake dost wait; thou
 nymph, wife of Numa, come tell of thine own deeds. In the
 Arician vale there is a lake begirt by shady woods and
 hallowed by religion from of old. Here Hippolytus lies hid,
 who by the reins of his steeds was rent in pieces: hence 5
 no horses enter that grove. The long fence is draped with
 hanging threads, and many a tablet there attests the merit of
 the goddess. Often doth a woman, whose prayer has been
 answered, carry from the city burning torches, while garlands
 wreath her brows The strong of hand and fleet of foot do 10
 there reign kings, and each is slain thereafter even as himself
 had slain. A pebbly brook flows down with fitful murmur;
 oft have I drunk of it, but in little sips. Egeria it is who doth
 supply the water, goddess dear to the Camenae; she was
 wife and councillor to Numa. At first the Quirites were too 15
 prone to fly to arms; Numa resolved to soften their fierce
 temper by force of law and fear of gods. Hence laws were
 made, that the stronger might not in all things have his way,
 and rites, handed down from the fathers, began to be piously
 observed. Men put off savagery, justice was more puissant 20
 than arms, citizen thought shame to fight with citizen, and
 he who but now had shown himself truculent would at the
 sight of an altar be transformed and offer wine and salted
 spelt on the warm hearths.

Lo, through the clouds the father of the gods scatters 25
 red lightnings, then clears the sky after the torrent rain:
 never before or since did hurtling fires fall thicker. The
 king quaked, and terror filled the hearts of common folk.

272. postmodo *AUDX²Mm¹*: primus *Λ¹m²*.

274. haustibus *UDX¹Mm*: auctibus *A*. bibi *Dm²*: bibi *AUMm²*:
 bibes *Xm¹*. 277. quirites *A¹UD(?)X¹Mm*: quiritis *A²*.

278. iure *AUDMm¹*: iure *Xm²*.

279. firmior *AUDM²m¹*: fortior *M¹m²*.

280. coeptaque (or ceptaque) *AUDX¹Mm*: certaue *M²*. pure
AUDX¹Mm²: merito *M²m¹*

282. manus *AUDMm²*: matum *Xm¹*.

283. trux *AUDMm¹*: trax *Xm²*. visa *AUD²M*: versa *D¹Xm*. iam
 vertitur *AUX¹Mm¹*: convertitur *DM²m²*. ara *AUMm*: ira *DX*. Compare *H. J. Rose in Classical Review*, xxxvii. (1922), p. 110, who suggests that in
 this passage vertitur means simply "turns" in prayer.

284. farraque salsa *ADM*: salsaque farra *UXmBC*.

288. rex pavet *UDX¹Mm*: respavet *A*.

- cui dea " ne nimium terrere ! piabile fulmen
 290 est," ait " et saevi flectitur ira Iovis.
 sed poterunt ritum Picus Faunusque piandi
 tradere, Romani numen utrumque soli.
 nec sine vi tradent : adhibe tu vincula captis."
 atque ita qua possint edidit arte capi.
 295 lucus Aventino suberat niger ilicis umbra,
 quo posses viso dicere " numen inest."
 in medio gramen, muscoque adoperta virenti
 manabat saxo vena perennis aquae :
 inde fere soli Faunus Picusque bibebant.
 300 huc venit et fonti rex Numa mactat ovem,
 plenaque odorati disponit pocula Bacchi,
 cumque suis antro conditus ipse latet.
 ad solitos veniunt silvestria numina fontes
 et relevant multo pectora sicca mero.
 305 vina quies sequitur ; gelido Numa prodit ab antro
 vinclaque sopitas addit in arta manus.
 somnus ut abscessit, pugnando vincula temptant
 rumpere : pugnares fortius illa tenent.
 tunc Numa : " di nemorum, factis ignoscite nostris,
 310 si scelus ingenio scitis abesse meo ;
 quoque modo possit fulmen, monstrate, piari."
 sic Numa ; sic quatiens cornua Faunus ait :
 " magna petis nec quae monitu tibi discere nostro
 fas sit : habent finis numina nostra suos.
 315 di sumus agrestes et qui dominemur in altis
 montibus : arbitrium est in sua tela Iovi.
 hunc tu non poteris per te deducere caelo,
 at poteris nostra forsitan usus ope."

289. fulmen *AUDXm*¹ : flumen *Mm*¹.

290. saevi *AUXMm* : summi *D*. ira *A³UDXm* : ora *A*¹.

291. picus faunusque *AXMm* : faunus picusque *UD*. piandi *AUDXm*¹ : superbi *m*¹.

292. tradere *ADX³Mm*¹ : prodere *UX³m*¹. romani *UDXm* : romanis *A*. utrumque *AUm*¹ : uterque *XMm*¹.

293. adhibe tu *AUDMm*¹ : adhibeto *Xm¹BC*.

294. possint *AUDMm*¹ : possunt *Xm¹BC*. edidit *ADM¹m*¹ : erudit *UXm¹BC* (*preferred by Heinsius, comparing Ovid, Fasti iii. 820; Tristia, ii. 244; Ars Amat. ii. 66*) : tradidit *M*¹.

296. posses viso *AUDMm* : viso posses *X*. inest *AUDXm*¹ : adest *m*¹.

299. faunus picusque *AUDm* : picus faunusque *M* : faunusque picusque *X*.

301. bacchi *AUDMm*¹ : vini *Xm*¹.

To the king the goddess spake : " Fear not over much. It is possible to expiate the thunderbolt, and the wrath of angry Jove can be averted. But Picus and Faunus, each of them a deity native to Roman soil, will be able to teach the ritual of expiation. They will teach it only upon compulsion. Catch 5 them and clap them in bonds." And she revealed the ruse by which they could be caught. Under the Aventine there lay a grove black with the shade of holm-oaks ; at sight of it you could say, " There is a spirit here." A sword was in the midst, and, veiled by green moss, there trickled from a 10 rock a rill of never-failing water. At it Faunus and Picus were wont to drink alone. Hither King Numa came, and sacrificed a sheep to the spring, and set out bowls full of fragrant wine. Then with his folk he hid him close within a cave. To their accustomed springs the woodland spirits came, 15 and slaked their thirst with copious draughts of wine. Sleep followed the debauch ; from the chill cave Numa came forth and thrust the sleepers' hands into tight shackles. When slumber left them, they tried and strained to burst the shackles, but the more they strained the stronger held the shackles. 20 Then Numa spake : " Gods of the groves, forgive my deed, if that ye know my mind harbours no ill intent, and show me in what way a thunderbolt can be expiated." Thus Numa spake, and thus, shaking his horns, Faunus replied : " Thou askest great things, such as it is not lawful for thee to learn 25 by our disclosure : divinities like ours have their appointed bounds. Rustic deities are we, who have dominion in the mountains high. Jove has the mastery over his own weapons. Him thou couldst never of thyself draw down from heaven, but haply thou mayest yet be able, if only thou wilt make use 30

302. latet *AUDXMM*¹ : iacet *m*².

304. pectora *AUDMM*² : pocula *Xm*¹.

306. sopitas *AUDX²MM*² : subiectas *X¹m*¹.

307. pugnando vincula temptant *AUMM*¹ : pugnando vincula tentant *X* : temptando vincula pugnant *D*.

308. illa *AUD²XMM* : i, sa *D*¹.

309. tunc *AUMm*² : tum *DXm*¹.

310. si *AUDMM*² : nam *Xm*¹.

311. fulmen *UDXM* : flumen *Am*.

313. discere *UXm*¹ : dicere *ADMm*² S.

315. dominemur *AUDXM*² : dominamur *M¹m*² : dominantur *m*¹.

316. tela *Xm¹B⁵* : tecta *AUDMM*² : regna *two* S. iovi *AU¹DXMM* : iovis *U²*.

- dixerat haec Faunus ; par est sententia Pici :
 320 "deme" tamen "nobis vincula," Picus ait :
 "Iuppiter huc veniet, valida perductus ab arte.
 nubila promissi Styx mihi testis crit."
 emissi laqueis quid agant, quae carmina dicant,
 quaque trahant superis sedibus arte Iovem,
 325 scire nefas homini : nobis concessa canentur
 quaeque pio dici vatis ab ore licet.
 eliciunt caelo te, Iuppiter, unde minores
 nunc quoque te celebrant Eliciumque vocant.
 constat Aventinae tremuisse cacumina silvae,
 330 terraque subsedit pondere pressa Iovis.
 corda micant regis, totoque e corpore sanguis
 fugit, et hirsutae deriguere comae.
 ut rediit animus, "da certa piamina" dixit
 "fulminis, aliorum rexque paterque deum,
 335 si tua contigimus manibus donaria puris,
 hoc quoque, quod petitur, si pia lingua rogat."
 adnuat oranti, sed verum ambage remota
 abdidit et dubio terruit ore virum.
 "caede caput" dixit : cui rex "parebimus," inquit
 340 "caedenda est hortis eruta caepa meis."
 addidit hic "hominis" : "sumes" ait ille "capillos."
 postulat hic animam, cui Numa "piscis" ait.
 risit et "his" inquit "facito mea tela procures,
 o vir conloquio non abigende deum.
 345 sed tibi, protulerit cum totum crastinus orbem
 Cynthus, imperii pignora certa dabo."
 dixit et ingenti tonitru super aethera motum
 fertur, adorantem destituitque Numam.

321. valida $AUX^2M^1m^2$: calida m^1 : summa DM^2 and many S : cella X^1 .
 perductus $AUDM^1m^2S$: deductus XM^2m^1 . arte AUM^1 : arce DXM^2mBCS .
Perhaps we should read summa deductus ab arce.

323. emissi $AUDXM$: emissis m^1 . laqueis quid agant $UDXMm$:
 laquei quid agant A : quid agant laqueis a few S . dicant $UDXMm^1$:
 dicat Am^2

324. quaque trahant superis $UDXMm^1$: qua trahat a superis Am^2 .

325. homini $AUDX^1Mm$: homini est X^2 .

327. unde $AUXM^1m$: inde DM^2 .

331. corpore $ADMM^2$: pectore UXm^1 .

332. deriguere A : diriguere $UDXMm$.

333. piamina $AUDX^2Mm$: piacula X^2S .

of our help." So Faunus said. Picus was of the like opinion :
 " But take our shackles off," quoth he ; " Jupiter will come
 hither, drawn by powerful art. Witness my promise, cloudy
 Styx." What they did when they were let out of the trap,
 what spells they spoke, and by what art they dragged Jupiter 5
 from his home above, 'twere sin for man to know. My song
 shall deal with lawful things, such as the lips of pious bard
 may speak. They drew (*eliciunt*) thee from the sky, O
 Jupiter, whence later generations to this day celebrate thee
 by the name of Elicius. Sure it is the tops of the Aventine 10
 trees did quiver, and the earth sank down under the weight
 of Jupiter. The king's heart throbbed, the blood shrank
 from his whole body, and his bristling hair stood stiff. When
 he came to himself, " King and father of the high gods," he
 said, " vouchsafe expiations sure for thunderbolts, if with pure 15
 hands we have touched thine offerings, and if for that which
 now we ask a pious tongue doth pray." The god granted
 his prayer, but hid the truth in sayings dark and tortuous,
 and alarmed the man by an ambiguous utterance. " Cut
 off the head," said he. The king answered him, " We will 20
 obey. We'll cut an onion, dug up in my garden." The god
 added, " A man's." " Thou shalt get," said the other, " his
 hair." The god demanded a life, and Numa answered him,
 " A fish's life." The god laughed and said, " See to it that
 by these things thou dost expiate my bolts, O man whom 25
 none may keep from converse with the gods ! But when
 to-morrow's sun shall have put forth his full orb, I will give
 thee sure pledges of empire." He spake, and in a loud peal
 of thunder was wafted above the riven sky, leaving Numa

334. fulminis *UDXM* ; fluminis *A*.

337. sed verum *AUXMm*² : verborum *Dm*¹. remota *AUDXMm* :
 remotum as a variant in one *S*.

338. abdidit *UMm*¹ : addidit *ADXm*².

340. caepa *AUX* : cepa *DM*.

341. hic *AUDMm*² : hoc *Vm*¹. hominis *AUDX²Mm*² : omen *X¹m*¹.
 sumes *AUDXMm* : summos a few *S*.

342. ait *AUMm*² : erit *DXm*¹.

343. procures *AUMm*¹ : repellas *DXm*².

344. conloquio *A* : colloquio *UDXMm*. decum *AUXMm* : meo *D*.

346. certa *AUDXMm*² : cara *m*¹.

347. motum *m¹BC* : notum *AUDMm*² : moto *X* : motu *m*².

348. destituitque *ADMm*² : deseruitque *UXm*¹.

- ille redit laetus memoratque Quiritibus acta :
 350 tarda venit dictis difficilisque fides.
 " at certe credemur," ait " si verba sequetur
 exitus : en audi crastina, quisquis ades.
 protulerit terris cum totum Cynthius orbem,
 Iuppiter imperii pignora certa dabit."
 355 discedunt dubii, promissaque tarda videntur,
 dependetque fides a veniente die.
 mollis erat tellus rorata mane pruina :
 ante sui populus limina regis adest.
 prodit et in solio medius consedit acerno.
 360 innumeri circa stantque silentque viri.
 ortus erat summo tantummodo margine Phoebus :
 sollicitae mentes speque metuque pavent.
 constitit atque caput niveo velatus amictu
 iam bene dis notas sustulit ille manus,
 365 atque ita " tempus adest promissi muneris," inquit
 " pollicitam dictis, Iuppiter, adde fidem."
 dum loquitur, totum iam sol emoverat orbem,
 et gravis aetherio venit ab axe fragor.
 ter tonuit sine nube deus, tria fulmina misit.
 370 credite dicenti : mira, sed acta, loquor.
 a media caelum regione dehiscere coepit ;
 summisere oculos cum duce turba suo
 ecce levi scutum versatum leniter aura
 decidit. a populo clamor ad astra venit.
 375 tollit humo munus caesa prius ille iuvenca,
 quae dederat nulli colla premenda iugo,
 idque ancile vocat, quod ab omni parte recisum est,
 quemque notes oculis, angulus omnis abest.
 tum, memor imperii sortem consistere in illo,
 380 consilium multae calliditatis init.

351. credemur *M*¹ and three *S* : credemus *AUDXM*²*m* : credamus *XBC*⁵ : credetis *M*²(in margin)*S*. sequetur *AUDM* : sequantur *Xm*³*BC*.

352. en audi *AUDXM*² : et dubie *m*¹. quisquis *AUDXm*² : piscis *m*¹.

355. tarda *UDXM* : turba *A*.

356. adveniente *AUDXMmBCFG*⁵. *I do not find any MS. quoted for a veniente.* 357. rorata *AUDXM* : rorataque a number of *S*.

359. acerno *UDXM* : acervo *A* : eburno a few *S*.

360. silentque *AUDM*² : sedentque *Xm*¹.

365. muneris *ADM*² : numinus *UXm*¹.

366. pollicitam *AUDXM*² : sollicitam *m*¹.

367. emoverat *AUDXM* : evolverat a few *S* : emergerat two *S*.

worshipping. The king returned joyful and told the Quirites of what had passed. They were slow and loth to believe his saying. "But surely," said he, "we shall be believed if the event follow my words. Behold, all ye here present, hearken to what to-morrow shall bring forth. When the sun shall have lifted his full orb above the earth, Jupiter will give sure pledges of empire." They separated full of doubt, and thought it long to await the promised sign, their belief hung on the coming day. Soft was the earth with hoar frost spread like dew at morn, when the people gathered at the threshold of their king. Forth he came and sat him down in their midst upon a throne of maple wood; unnumbered men stood round him silent.

Scarcely had Phoebus shown a rim above the horizon: their anxious minds with hope and fear did quake. The king took his stand, and, his head veiled in a snow-white hood, lifted up his hands, hands which the gods already knew so well. And thus he spoke: "The time has come to receive the promised boon; fulfil thy promise, Jupiter." Even while he spoke, the sun had already lifted his full orb above the horizon, and a loud crash rang out from heaven's vault. Thrice did the god thunder from a cloudless sky, thrice did he hurl his bolts. Take my word for it: what I say is wonderful but true. At the zenith the sky began to yawn; the multitude and their leader lifted up their eyes. Lo, swaying gently in the light breeze, a shield fell down. The people sent up a shout that reached the stars. The king lifted from the ground the gift, but not till he had sacrificed a heifer, which had never submitted her neck to the burden of the yoke, and he called the shield *ancile*, because it was cut away (*recisum*) on all sides, and there was no angle that you could mark. Then, remembering that the fate of empire was bound up with it, he formed a very shrewd design. He

368. et *AUDXmm*¹: en *m*¹. 369. fulmina *ADX²Mm*²: fulgura *Um*¹.

371. dehiscere *AUDXmm*²: discedere *m*¹. coepit *AUDX²M²m*²: visum est *X¹M¹m*¹.

372. summisere *AUXMm*: submisere *D*. suo *AUDMm*²: suos *Xm*¹

373. leniter *AUXMm*: leviter *D*.

377. idque *UX*: adque *A*: atque *DM*. ancile *A²UXM*: ancille *A¹D*: anchyle *m*. vocat *AUDXm*: vocant *M*.

378. quemque *U²Mm*¹ (*corrected*) and apparently most *MSS.*: quaque *AU¹X²m*¹. 379. tum *AUDXm*¹: tunc *Mm*². sortem *UDXMm*: sorte *A*.

- plura iubet fieri simili caelata figura,
 error ut ante oculos insidiantis eat.
 Mamurius (morum fabraene exactior artis,
 difficile est ulli dicere) clausit opus.
 385 cui Numa munificus "facti pete praemia," dixit;
 "si mea nota fides, inrita nulla petes."
 iam dederat Saliis a saltu nomina dicta
 armaque et ad certos verba canenda modos.
 tum sic Mamurius: "merces mihi gloria detur,
 390 nominaque extremo carmine nostra sonent."
 inde sacerdotes operi promissa vetusto
 praemia persolvunt Mamuriumque vocant.
 nubere siqua voles, quamvis properabitis ambo,
 differ; habent parvae commoda magna morae.
 395 arma movent pugnas, pugna est aliena maritis;
 condita cum fuerint, aptius omen erit.
 his etiam coniunx apicati sancta Dialis
 lucibus inplexas debet habere comas.

- 400 Tertia nox de mense suos ubi moverit ignes,
 conditus e geminis Piscibus alter erit.
 nam duo sunt: austris hic est, aquilonibus ille
 proximus; a vento nomen uterque tenet.

Cum croceis rorare genis Tithonia coniunx
 coeperit et quintae tempora lucis aget,

382. eat *UDXMm*: eant *A*.
 383. mamurius *DXm*: marmurius *AUM¹*: marmurius *M²*.
 384. ulli *AU²DXMm*: illud *U¹*. clausit *AUDXM¹m*: sculpsit *M²*:
 lusit *Riese*.
 387. a *ADX²M²m²*: qui *UX¹M¹m¹*. dicta *ADXM²m²*: ducunt
UM¹m¹: ducta *5*.
 388. modos *AUXMm*: sonos *D*.
 389. tum *Adm¹*: tunc *UXMm²*. mamurius *m*: marmurius *A*: mam-
 murius *UXM²*: marmurius *DM¹*.
 390. extremo *AUDXM¹m*: externo vel aeterno *M²* (*in margin*).
 392. mamuriumque *Xm*: marmuriumque *AU*: marmuriumque *DM*.
 vocant *AUXMm*: canunt *D*.
 393. voles *AUDXMm²*: volet *m¹*.
 395. pugnas *UXm¹*: pugnam *DMm²*: pugnae *A*.
 397. coniunx apicati sancta dialis *U* (sancta written in the contracted form
scā): coniunx apicati cincta dialis *X*: capitis coniunx distincta dialis *Am²*:
 cunctis apicalis cincta dialis *DM¹*: capitis coniunx discincta capillis *M²*:
 coniunx apicatis cura dialis *m¹* (*with* apicati sancta *and* apicati cincta *in the*
margin). Compare Fasti vi. 226 "coniunx sancta Dialis." The reading

ordered that many shields should be made, wrought after the same pattern, in order to deceive a traitor's eyes. The work was finished by Mamurius; whether he was more perfect in character or in smithcraft, it would be hard for any man to say. Bountiful Numa said to him, "Ask a reward for 5 your service. If I have a reputation for honesty, you shall not ask in vain." He had already named the Salii from their dancing (*saltus*), and had given them arms and a song to be sung to a certain tune. Then Mamurius made answer thus: "Give me glory for my reward, and let my name be 10 chanted at the end of the song." Hence the priests pay the reward that was promised for the work of old, and they invoke Mamurius.

If, damsel, thou wouldst wed, put off the wedding, however great the haste ye both may be in; short delay 15 hath great advantage. Weapons excite to battle, and battle ill assorts with married folk; when the weapons shall have been stored away, the omens will be more favourable. On these days, too, the holy wife of the Flamen 20 Dialis in his peaked cap must keep her hair uncombed.

V. NON. 3rd.

When the third night of the month has shifted her starry fires, one of the two Fishes will have disappeared. For there are two: one of them is next neighbour to the South Winds, the other to the North Winds; each of them takes 25 its name from the wind.

III. NON. 5th.

When from her saffron checks Tithonus' spouse shall have begun to shed the dew at the time of the fifth morn,

apicati sancta appears to be found in most MSS. ("apicat. sancta reliqui praeter eos, qui indicabuntur," Merkel). Lines 397-400 are written in the margin of A, but apparently by the original scribe.

399. demense *U*: de mense *BCS*: de mensa *X*: dimensa *Mm*¹(?) : demissa *D*: demersa *m*⁵: dimarsa *A*: emersa two *S* (*approved by Heinsius*). ignes *AS*: ortus *DXMm* and apparently most *MSS.*: hortus *U*.

402. uterque *UDXMm*: utrumque *AS*.

403. rorare *AUM*¹*m*¹: rutillare *DXM*¹*m*².

404. quintae *AUDXMm*: quartae two *S*. aget *AUXMm*: erunt *D*.

- 405 sive est Arctophylax, sive est piger ille Bootes,
mergetur visus effugietque tuos.
at non effugiet Vindemitor : hoc quoque causam
unde trahat sidus, parva docere mora est.
Ampelon intonsum satyro nymphaque creatum
410 fertur in Ismariis Bacchus amasse iugis :
tradidit huic vitem pendentem e frondibus ulmi,
quae nunc de pueri nomine nomen habet.
dum legit in ramo pictas temerarius uvas,
decidit : amissum Liber in astra tulit.
- 415 Sextus ubi oceano clivosum scandit Olymum
Phoebus et alatis aethera carpit equis,
quisquis ades castaeque colis penetralia Vestae,
gratare, Iliacis turaque pone focis.
Caesaris innumeris (quem maluit ille mereri ?)
420 accessit titulis pontificalis honor.
ignibus aeternis aeterni numina praesunt
Caesaris : imperii pignora iuncta vides.
di veteris Troiae, dignissima praeda ferenti,
qua gravis Aeneas tutus ab hoste fuit,
425 ortus ab Aenea tangit cognata sacerdos
numina : cognatum, Vesta, tuere caput !
quos sancta fovet ille manu, bene vivitis ignes :
vivite inextincti, flammaque duxque, precor.
- Una nota est Marti Nonis, sacrata quod illis
430 templa putant lucos Vediovis ante duos.

405. arctophylax *M* : arctofilax *A* : arctophilax *X* : arctofilax *UD*.

408. docere *AUDMm*¹ : referre *Xm*¹.

409. satyro *UDXm* : satyris *AM*.

410. ismariis *DX* : hismariis *AUMm*.

411, 412. *Condemned as spurious by Heinsius, bracketed by Burman, Gierig, and Merkel*².

411. e frondibus *AUDMm*²*BC*⁵ : frondibus *Xm*¹.

414. liber *AUDXm*¹*m* : bacchus *M*². tulit *AUDMm*² : vehit *Xm*¹.

415. oceano *UDXm*¹*BC*⁵ : e terra *AM*. scandit *AUDm*² : scandet *XMm*¹.

416. alatis *AUDX*²*M*¹*m*¹ : clatis *X*¹*M*²*m*². aethera *U*²*M* : ethera *D* : aequora *AU*¹*Xm*. carpit *AUDm*² : carpet *XMm*¹.

417. castaeque *AUDMm*¹ : canaeque *Xm*². *Heinsius defended canae, comparing canae . . . Vestae in Virgil, Aen. v. 744, ix. 259, Martial, i. 70. 3-4.*

418. gratare *ADMm* (corrected) : cratera *UXm*².

419. quem *UXm*² : quos *ADMm*¹ (corrected).

the constellation, whether it be the Bear-ward or the sluggard Bootes, will have sunk and will escape thy sight. But not so will the Grape-gatherer escape thee. The origin of that constellation also can be briefly told. 'Tis said that the unshorn Ampelus, son of a nymph and satyr, was loved by Bacchus on 5 the Ismarian hills. Upon him the god bestowed a vine that trailed from an elm's leafy boughs, and still the vine takes from the boy its name. While he rashly culled the gaudy grapes upon a branch, he tumbled down; Liber bore the lost youth to the stars.

10

PR. NON. 6th

When the sixth sun climbs up Olympus' steep from ocean, and through the ether takes his way on his winged steeds, all ye, whoc'er ye are, who worship at the shrine of the chaste Vesta, wish the goddess joy and offer incense on the Ilia hearth. To Caesar's countless titles (which would he 15 rather have earned?) was added the honour of the pontificate. Over the eternal fire the divinity of Caesar, no less eternal, doth preside: the pledges of empire thou seest side by side. Ye gods of ancient Troy, ye worthiest prize to him who bore ye, ye whose weight did save Aeneas from the 20 foe, a priest of the line of Aeneas handles your kindred divinities; Vesta, do thou guard his kindred head! Nursed by his sacred hand, ye fires live well. O live undying, flame and leader both, I pray.

NON. 7th.

The Nones of March have only one mark in the calendar, 25 because they think that on that day the temple of Vedjovis was consecrated in front of the two groves. When Romulus

421. numina *AUMm*: munera *D*: lumina *X* (corrected).

422. pignora *AUDXM¹m*: culmina *M²*. vides *UXM¹m¹*: videt *AM²m²*: vident *D*.

423. veteris *AUDM*: veteres *Xm*. ferenti *ADXMm*: fabilla *U* (in *crasure*): favilla a few *S*. 426. numina *AUDXM¹m*: nomina *M²*.

427. ignes *AUDXM¹m*: inquit *M²*.

428. inextincti *UDXMm*: inextinctis *A*.

429. marti *AUDm¹*: martii *X*: martis *Mm²*.

430. putant *UDXM¹m*: putent *A*: patent *M²*. ve iovis *U²M¹*: ut iovis *AU¹DXM²m*. In the uncertainty of the MS. evidence I accept the form Vedjovis attested by inscriptions. duos *AUDM¹m¹*: suos *Xm²*: tuos *M²*.

- Romulus ut saxo lucum circumdedit alto,
 " quilibet huc " dixit " confuge, tutus eris."
 O quam de tenui Romanus origine crevit !
 turba vetus quam non invidiosa fuit !
 435 ne tamen ignaro novitas tibi nominis obstet,
 disce, quis iste deus, curque vocetur ita.
 Iuppiter est iuvenis : iuvenalis aspicte voltus ;
 aspicte deinde manum, fulmina nulla tenet.
 fulmina post ausos caelum adfectare Gigantes
 440 sumpta Iovi ; primo tempore inermis erat.
 ignibus Ossa novis et Pelion altius Ossa
 arsit et in solida fixus Olympus humo.
 stat quoque capra simul : nymphae pavisserunt
 Cretides ; infanti lac dedit illa Iovi.
 445 nunc vocor ad nomen. vegrandia farra colonae
 quae male creverunt, vescaque parva vocant.
 vis ea si verbi est, cur non ego Vediovis aedem
 aedem non magni suspicer esse Iovis ?
 iamque, ubi caeruleum variabunt sidera caelum,
 450 suspice : Gorgonei colla videbis equi.
 creditur hic caesa gravidae cervice Medusae
 sanguine respersis prosiluisse iubis.
 huic supra nubes et subter sidera lapso
 caelum pro terra, pro pede penna fuit,
 455 iamque indignanti nova frena receperat ore,
 cum levis Aonias ungula fodit aquas.
 nunc fruitur caelo, quod pennis ante petebat,
 et nitidus stellis quinque decemque micat.
- Protinus aspicias venienti nocte Coronam
 460 Gnosida : Theseo crimine facta dea est.
432. dixit *ADMM*¹ ; inquit *UXm*¹.
 434. vetus . . . fuit *AUDMm* : fuit . . . vetus *X*.
 435. ignaro *AUDXM*^{2m} : ignoti *M*¹.
 436. curque *XIm*¹ : curve *AUMm*².
 437. iuvenalis *A* : iuvenales *UDX*^{2m} : iuveniles *X*²*Mm*¹. aspicte
AUDXM^{2m} : respice *M*².
 438. manum *XMm*¹*BC* and many *S* : manu *AUDm*² : manus *S*.
 439. adfectare *A* : affectare *UXMm* : temptare *D*. gigantes *AUDXMm*¹ :
 gigantes *m*².
 441. novis *AUXMm* : iovis *D*⁵. altius *AUXMm*² : altior *Dm*².
 445. vegrandia *Um*¹ : vehagrandia *ADMM*² : vel grandia *X*. colonae
*AUDMm*² : coloni *U*²*Xm*¹. In support of colonae Heinsius refers to Fasti
 ii. 646, iv. 692.

surrounded the grove with a high stone wall, "Take refuge here," said he, "whoe'er thou art; thou shalt be safe." O from how small a beginning the Roman took his rise! How little to be envied was that multitude of old! But that the strangeness of the name may not prove a stumbling-block to you in your ignorance, learn who that god is, and why he is so called. He is the Young Jupiter: look on his youthful face; look then on his hand, it holds no thunderbolts. Jupiter assumed the thunderbolts after the giants dared attempt to win the sky; at first he was unarmed. 10 Ossa blazed with the new fires (of his thunderbolts); Pelion, too, higher than Ossa, and Olympus, fixed in the solid ground. A she-goat also stands (beside the image of Vedjovis); the Cretan nymphs are said to have fed the god; it was the she-goat that gave her milk to the infant Jove. 15 Now I am called on to explain the name. Farmers' wives call stunted spelt *vegrandia*, and what is little they call *vesca*. If that is the meaning of the word, may I not suspect that the shrine of Vedjovis is the shrine of the little Jupiter?

And now when the stars shall spangle the blue sky, look 20 up: you will see the neck of the Gorgonian steed. He is said to have leaped forth from the severed neck of the teeming Medusa, his mane bespattered with blood. As he glided above the clouds and beneath the stars, the sky served him as solid ground, and his wing served him for a foot. Soon in- 25 dignantly he champed the unwonted bit, when his light hoof struck out the Aonian spring. Now he enjoys the sky, to which aforetime he soared on wings, and he sparkles bright with fifteen stars.

VIII. ID. 8th.

Straightway at the fall of night shalt thou see the 30 Cnossian Crown. It was through the fault of Theseus that

447. verbi *AXMm*: verbis *U*. veiovis *U* (corrected) *Mm*: veliovis *AX*:
I'iovis *D*.

448. non magni *AUDX²M²m¹*: vel magni *X¹m²*: non parvi *M¹*. suspicer
AUm¹: suspicor *DXMm²BC*: and many *S*. iovis *UD²XMm*: iovi *AD¹*.

449. variabunt *UDX²M*: variabant *Am¹*: vallabunt *X¹m²*.

451. caesa gravidæ *Madvig* (*Adversaria* ii. 106): caesæ grvida
AUDXMm: caesa grvida a few *S*. 452. iubis *UDXm¹*: comis *AMm²*.

454. pro terra *AUXMm*: pro penna *D*. penna fuit *UXMm*: pinna
fuit *A*: terra fuit *D*. 456. fodit *AUDX²Mm²*: fudit *X²m¹*.

459. aspicias *AUDXMm*: adspicias *Burman*, *Ehwald-Levy*.

- iam bene periuro mutarat coniuge Bacchum,
 quae dedit ingrato fila legenda viro ;
 sorte tori gaudens " quid flebam rustica ? " dixit
 " utiliter nobis perfidus ille fuit."
- 465 interea Liber depexos crinibus Indos
 vicit et Eoo dives ab orbe redit ;
 inter captivas facie praestante puellas
 grata nimis Baccho filia regis erat.
 flebat amans coniunx spatiatque litore curvo
- 470 edidit incultis talia verba comis :
 " en iterum, fluctus, similis audite querellas !
 en iterum lacrimas accipe, harena, meas !
 dicebam, memini, ' periure et perfide Theseu ! '
 ille abiit ; eadem crimina Bacchus habet.
- 475 nunc quoque ' nulla viro ' clamabo ' femina credat ! '
 nomine mutato causa relata mea est.
 o utinam mea sors, qua primum coeperat, isset,
 iamque ego praesenti tempore nulla forem !
 quid me desertis morituram, Liber, harenis
- 480 servabas ? potui dedoluisse semel.
 Bacche levis leviorque tuis, quae tempora cingunt,
 frondibus, in lacrimas cognite Bacche meas,
 ausus es ante oculos adducta pacifice nostros
 tam bene compositum sollicitare torum ?
- 485 heu ubi pacta fides ? ubi, quae iurare solebas ?
 me miseram, quotiens haec ego verba loquar ?
 Thesea culpabas fallacemque ipse vocabas :
 iudicio peccas turpius ipse tuo

461. mutarat *AUDMm*² : mutavit *N* : mutabat *m*¹.

462. legenda *Um*¹*BS* : regenda *ADXMm*² and apparently most *MSS.* *Ehwald-Livy* defends regenda by referring to Catullus lxiv. 113 "regens tenui vestigia filo," and *Ornd.* *Heroides* x. 72 "quae regerent passus, pro duce fila dedi," as if regere fila were the same thing as regere vestigia or passus. *Ariadne gave Theseus a ball of thread which he unwound as he penetrated into the depths of the labyrinth and gathered or rolled up (legit or relegit) as he retraced his steps to the entrance. See Propertius* v. 4. 43 "cum patuit lecto stamine torta via"; *Ornd.* *Metamorph.* viii. 173 "ianua difficilis filo est inventa relecto"; *Lactantius Placidus on Statius*, Theb. xii. 676 "a quo (scil. Daedalo) globum fili (Ariadne) accepit, cuius summitatem tenens ipsum Theseo intranti dedit post se solvendum. Quem ille occiso Minotauro relegens victor egressus est"; *Hyginus*, Fab. 42 "Ariadnes monitu licium revolvendo foras est egressus," where revolvendo is equivalent to legendo or relegendo. Thus in the present passage, as in many others, *U* has preserved the true reading, which has been corrupted in *A*.

Ariadne was made a goddess. Already had she happily exchanged a perjured spouse for Bacchus, she who gave to a thankless man a clue to gather up. Joying in her lot of love, "Why like a rustic maiden did I weep?" quoth she; "his faithlessness has been my gain." Meantime Liber had conquered the straight-haired Indians and returned, loaded with treasure, from the eastern world. Amongst the fair captive girls there was one, the daughter of a king, who pleased Bacchus all too well. His loving spouse wept, and pacing the winding shore with dishevelled locks she uttered to these words: "Lo, yet again, ye billows, list to my like complaint! Lo, yet again, ye sands, receive my tears! I used to say, I remember, 'Forsworn and faithless Theseus!' He deserted me: now Bacchus does me the same wrong. Now again I will cry, 'Let no woman trust a man!' My case has been repeated, only the name is changed. Would that my lot had ended where it first began! So at this moment had I been no more. Why, Liber, didst thou save me to die on desert sands? I might have ended my griefs once and for all. Bacchus, thou light o' love! lighter than the leaves that wreath thy brows! Bacchus, whom I have known only that I should weep! Hast thou dared to trouble our so harmonious loves by bringing a leman before mine eyes? Ah, where is plighted troth? Where are the oaths that thou wast wont to swear? Woe's me, how often must I speak these self-same words! Thou wast wont to blame Theseus; thou wast wont thyself to dub him deceiver; judged by thyself, thine is the fouler sin. Let no man

465. depexos *AUDMm*(corrected) and many *s*: depexus *Xm*³: depexis *Merkel*¹ (without citing any MS.).

466. vicit *ADXm*²: vincit *UMm*¹. redit *AMm*²: venit *UDXm*¹.

467. facie *AUDXM²m*: forma *M*¹.

469. litore (or littore) *UDXM*: littora *Am*. curvo *AUDXM¹m*²: parvo *m*¹.

470. comis *AUDXM¹m*: modis *M*².

471. fluctus similis *A*: fluctus similes *M*: similes fluctus *UDXm*.

476. relata *AUDMm*¹: novata *Xm*².

477. quæ *AUDX*: quo *Mm*¹: quæ *m*². isset *AUDX²Mm* (corrected): esset *X²m*¹.

479. me desertis *U¹DXMm*¹: me in desertis *AU²m²s*. morituram *AUDXMm*: perituram *two s*.

481. cingunt *AUDX²M*: cingent *X*¹. 484. tam *ADMm*²: iam *UXm*¹.

485. heu *AUXm*¹: heus *DMm²B* and many *s*.

486. loquar *AUM*²: loquor *DXM¹m*.

488. turpius *AUX²M¹m*²: turpior *X*¹: turpiter *DM²m*¹.

- ne sciat hoc quisquam, tacitisque doloribus urar,
 490 ne totiens falli digna fuisse puter !
 praecipue cupiam celari Thesea, ne te
 consortem culpa gaudeat esse suae.
 ut puto, praeposita est fuscae mihi candida paelex :
 eveniat nostris hostibus ille color !
 495 quid tamen hoc refert ? vitio tibi gratior ipso est.
 quid facis ? amplexus inquinat illa tuos.
 Bacche, fidem praesta nec praefer amoribus ullam
 coniugis. adsuevi semper amare virum.
 ceperunt matrem formosi cornua tauri,
 500 me tua : me laudant, ille pudendus amor.
 ne noccat, quod amo ; neque enim tibi, Bacche, nocbat,
 quod flammis nobis fassus es ipse tuas.
 nec, quod nos uris, mirum facis : ortus in igne
 diceris et patria raptus ab igne manu.
 505 illa ego sum, cui tu solitus promittere caelum.
 ei mihi, pro caelo qualia dona fero ! ”
 dixerat : audibat iamdudum verba querentis
 Liber, ut a tergo forte secutus erat.
 occupat amplexu lacrimasque per oscula siccant
 510 et “ pariter caeli summa petamus ! ” ait :
 “ tu mihi iuncta toro mihi iuncta vocabula sumes,
 nam tibi mutatae Libera nomen erit ;
 sintque tuae tecum faciam monumenta coronae,
 Volcanus Veneri quam dedit, illa tibi.”
 515 dicta facit gemmasque novem transformat in ignes :
 aurea per stellas nunc micat illa novem.

Sex ubi sustulerit, totidem demerserit orbes,
 purpureum rapido qui vehit axe diem,

489. hoc $A^2 UXMm$: haec A^1 . urar $A^2 UDXMm$: utar ζ : utor A^1 .

490. puter $A^2 UDXMm$: pater A^1 .

491. ne te $UDXM$: nec te m and two ζ : nerem A .

493. ut $AM^2 m^3$ and many ζ : at $UDXM^1 m^1$. But at puto would suggest that what follows is an objection urged by somebody else, whereas ut puto is sarcastic, as in the saying of the dying Vespasian, “ Ut puto, deus fio.”

495. ipso $AUXM^1 m$: ipsa D : illa M^1 .

496. tuos $A^2 UDXMm$: suos A^1 . 498. adsuevi A : assuevi $UDXMm$.

500. me tua me laudant Xm^1 : me tua me laudat M^2 : me tua me laedit M^1 : me tua sed laedit m^2 : me uiat et ledit A : me iuvat et ledit UD : me iuvat et laedit m^1 : me tua : at hic laudi est *Heinsius* : me tua te laedis *Madrig* (*Adversaria* ii. 106)

know of this, and let me burn with pangs unuttered, lest they should think that I deserve to be deceived so oft. Above all I would desire the thing were kept from Theseus, that he may not joy to know thee a partner in his guilt. But I suppose a leman fair has been preferred to dusky me ! 5 May that hue fall to my foes ! But what does that matter ? She is dearer to thee for the very blemish. What art thou about ? She defiles thee by her embrace. Bacchus, keep faith, nor prefer any woman to a wife's love. I have learned to love my love for ever. The horns of a handsome bull 10 won my mother's heart, thine won mine. They laud me for my passion : hers was a shameful love. Let me not suffer for my love ; thou thyself, Bacchus, didst not suffer for avowing thy flame to me. No wonder that thou dost make me burn ; they say thou wert born in the fire and wert 15 snatched from the fire by thy father's hand. I am she to whom thou wert wont to promise heaven. Ah me ! what guerdon do I reap instead of heaven !" She finished speaking. Long time had Liber heard her plaint, for as it chanced he followed close behind. He put his arms 20 about her, with kisses dried her tears, and " Let us fare together," quoth he, " to heaven's height. As thou hast shared my bed, so shalt thou share my name, for in thy changed state thy name shall be Libera ; and I will see to it that with thee there shall be a memorial of thy crown, 25 that crown which Vulcan gave to Venus, and she to thee." He did as he had said and changed the nine jewels of her crown into fires. Now the golden crown doth sparkle with nine stars.

PR. ID. 14th.

When he who bears the purple day on his swift car shall 30
six times have lifted up his disc and as often sunk it low,

502. flammis nobis *AUXM* : nobis flammis *D*.

507. audibat *A*(corrected) *Um*¹ : audierat *DX*(corrected) *Mm*².

508. ut *AUDXMm*² : et *m*¹.

511. toro (thoro) mihi *AUXnm* : thoro tu *D*. sumes *AUDX²Mm*¹ :
sumis *X²m*² : sume a few 5. 512. nam *AUDXM²m* : iam *M*¹5.

515. In *A verses 564-589 are wrongly placed before verses 516-563.*

517. demerserit *Heinsius* (quoting *Lucan*, iii. 40 sq. " Titan iam pronus in undas | ibat et igniferi multum (scrib. tantum) demerserat orbis ") : demiserit *Xm*² : dimiserit *Dm*¹ : cum deserit *AUm*² : cum deseret *M*¹ : cum dempserit *M*². orbes *ADXMm* : orbis *U*² : horas *U*¹ : ortus *m*².

520 altera gramineo spectabis Equirria Campo,
 quem Tiberis curvis in latus urget aquis.
 qui tamen eiecta si forte tenebitur unda,
 Caelius accipiet pulverulentus equos.

Idibus est Annae festum geniale Perennae
 non procul a ripis, advena Thybri, tuis.
 525 plebs venit ac virides passim disiecta per herbas
 potat, et accumbit cum pare quisque sua.
 sub Iove pars durat, pauci tentoria ponunt,
 sunt quibus e ramis frondea facta casa est,
 pars, ubi pro rigidis calamos statuere columnis,
 530 desuper extentas imposuere togas.
 sole tamen vinoque calent annosque precantur,
 quot sumant cyathos, ad numerumque bibunt.
 invenies illic, qui Nestoris ebibat annos,
 quae sit per calices facta Sibylla suos.
 535 illic et cantant, quicquid didicere theatris,
 et iactant faciles ad sua verba manus
 et ducunt posito duras crateres choreas,
 cultaque diffusis saltat amica comis.
 cum redeunt, titubant et sunt spectacula volgi,
 540 et fortunatos obvia turba vocat.
 occurrit nuper (visa est mihi digna relatu)
 pompa : senem potum pota trahebat anus.
 quae tamen haec dea sit, quoniam rumoribus errat,
 fabula proposito nulla tegenda meo.
 545 arserat Aeneae Dido miserabilis igne,
 arserat exstructis in sua fata rogis ;
 compositusque cinis, tumulique in marmore carmen
 hoc breve, quod moriens ipsa reliquit, erat :

519. equirria *AUX* : equiria *DMm*² : equitia *m*¹.

522. accipiet *U²DM²m²* : accipiat *AU¹XM¹m¹*.

523. perennae *AXM* : per ennae *U* : perhennae *D*.

524. non *AM* and many *S* : haud *Xm*¹ : haut *UD*.

525. ac *DXMm* : ad *A* : et *U*.

527. ponunt *AUXMm* : tendunt *D*.

529. ubi *m*², *Heinsius* : ibi *AD* : sibi *UXM*.

530. extentas *AUM* : extensus *DXM*.

532. quot *UXMm* : quod *AD*. sumant *Adm*¹ : sumunt *UXMm*².

535. quicquid *AUDMm*¹ : quaequae *Xm*².

537. duras *AU¹Xm¹* : laetas *DM²S* : longas *M¹m²S* : iunctas *U²*.

thou shalt a second time behold horse races (*Equirria*) on that grassy plain whose side is hugged by Tiber's winding waters. But if perchance the wave has overflowed and floods the plain, the dusty Caelian hill shall receive the horses.

IDUS 15th.

On the Ides is held the jovial feast of Anna Perenna not 5 far from thy banks, O Tiber, who comest from afar. The common folk come, and scattered here and there over the green grass they drink, every lad reclining beside his lass. Some camp under the open sky; a few pitch tents; some make a leafy hut of boughs. Others set up reeds in place 10 of rigid pillars, and stretching out their robes place them upon the reeds. But they grow warm with sun and wine, and they pray for as many years as they take cups, and they count the cups they drink. There shall you find a man who drains as many goblets as Nestor numbered years, 15 and a woman who would live to the Sibyl's age if cups could work the charm. There they sing the ditties they picked up in the theatres, beating time to the words with nimble hands; they set the bowl down, and trip in dances lubberly, while the spruce sweetheart skips about with streaming hair. 20 On the way home they reel, a spectacle for vulgar eyes, and the crowd that meets them calls them "blest." I met the procession lately; I thought it notable; a drunk old woman lugged a drunk old man.

But since erroneous rumours are rife as to who this 25 goddess is, I am resolved to throw no cloak about her tale. Poor Dido had burned with the fire of love for Aeneas; she had burned, too, on a pyre built for her doom. Her ashes were collected, and on the marble of her tomb was this short stanza, which she herself dying had left: 30

539. titubant *UDXMm*: titubent *A*. vulgo *two* 5.

541. occurrit *AUDM*: occurri *Xm*.

543. rumoribus *AUMm*²: sermonibus *DXm*¹. errat *AUDX*: erat *M*: errant a few 5.

544. tegenda *AUDMm*¹: tacenda *Xm*². meo *AUXM*: meo est *Dm*.

546. exstructis *AD*: extructis *UXMm*.

547. cinis *UDXMm*²*BC*: ignis *Am*¹ and apparently most *NSS*.

- PRAEBUIT AENEAS ET CAUSAM MORTIS ET ENSEM.
 550 IPSA SUA DIDO CONCIDIT USA MANU.
 protinus invadunt Numidae sine vindice regnum,
 et potitur capta Maurus Iarba domo,
 seque memor spretum, "Thalamis tamen" inquit "Elissae
 en ego, quem totiens reppulit illa, fruor."
 555 diffugiunt Tyrii, quo quemque agit error, ut olim
 amisso dubiae rege vagantur apes.
 tertia nudandas acceperat area messes,
 inque cavos ierant tertia musta lacus :
 pellitur Anna domo lacrimansque sororia linquit
 560 moenia : germanae iusta dat ante suae.
 mixta bibunt molles lacrimis unguenta favillae,
 vertice libatas accipiuntque comas ;
 terque "vale !" dixit, cineres ter ad ora relatos
 pressit, et est illis visa subesse soror.
 565 nancta ratem comitesque fugae pede labitur aequo
 moenia respiciens, dulce sororis opus.
 fertilis est Melite sterili vicina Cosyrae
 insula, quam Libyci verberat unda freti.
 hanc petit hospitio regis confisa vetusto :
 570 hospes opum dives rex ibi Battus erat.
 qui postquam didicit casus utriusque sororis,
 "haec" inquit "tellus quantulacumque tua est."
 et tamen hospitii servasset ad ultima munus,
 sed timuit magnas Pygmalionis opes.
 575 signa recensuerat bis sol sua, tertius ibat
 annus, et exilio terra paranda nova est.
 frater adest belloque petit. rex arma perosus
 "nos sumus inbelles, tu fuge sospes !" ait.

549, 550. *These two lines are repeated from Heroides, vii. 193 sq.*

552. iarba *AUXM* : iarba *D* : iarba *m*¹.

553. thalamis *AUMm*¹ : thalamo *DXm*².

554. illa *AUDXMm* : ipsa *M*². fruor *AUDXMm*² : fruor *m*² : furor *m*¹.

557. nudandas *DXm*¹ : nudatas *AUXMm*².

558. inque cavos ierant tertia musta lacus *AUMm* : inque cavo steterant tertia musta lacu *X* : iamque cavo steterant tertia musta lacu *D*.

559. linquit *AUDm*¹ : liquit *Xm*².

560. germanae iusta *AUDXMm*² : germanae exta *m*¹ : germanaeque exta *X*¹. 561. lacrimis unguenta *AUXMm* : lacrimas unguenta *D*.

564. illis *m*² and two *S* : illi *UDXMm*¹ : visa illa *A*.

567. melite *AMm* : melitae *UDX* : nostrae *M*¹. cosyrae *Am* : cosyre *U* : cosirae *X*² : corisae *DXM*.

Anna caused her death and lent the blade
 Dids by her own hand in dust was laid.

Straightway the Numidians invaded the defenceless
 realm, and Iarba the Moor captured and took possession
 of the palace and remembering how she had spurned him
 out, Lo, now quoth he I enjoy Elima's bridal bower
 I whom she so oft repelled The Tyrans fled hither and
 thither as each one chanced to stray even as bees oft wander
 doubtfully when they have lost their king For the third
 time the reaped corn had been carried to the threshing-floor
 to be stripped of the husk and for the third time the new
 wine had poured into the hollow vats, when Anna was
 driven from home and weeping left her sister's walls but
 first she paid the honours due to her dead sister The soft
 ashes drank unguents mixed with tears, and they received
 an offering of hair clipped from her head And thrice she
 said Farewell! thrice she took the ashes up and pressed
 them to her lips and under them she thought she saw her
 sister Having found a ship and comrades to share her
 flight she glided before the wind looking back at the city
 walls her sister's darling work

There is a fertile island Melite lashed by the waves of
 the Libyan sea and neighbour to the barren Cosyra Anna
 steered for it trusting to the king's hospitality which she
 had known of old for Battus there was king a wealthy
 host When he learned the misfortunes of the two sisters

This land said he, small though it be is thine and
 he would have observed the duties of hospitality to the end
 but that he feared Pygmalion's mighty power Twice had
 the sun traversed the signs of the zodiac and a third year
 was passing when Anna was compelled to seek a new land
 of exile Her brother came and demanded her surrender
 with threat of war The king loathed arms and said to
 Anna We are unwarlike Do thou seek safety in flight!

310. *hellen* *AUXH*¹*m* *hellen* *A*¹

311. *postquam* *AUXH*¹*m* *quaropam* *D*

312. *et* *AUXH*¹*m* *et* *D* *verum* *UDH*¹*m* *verum* *A*

313. *recomenti* *AM*¹*m* *recomenti* *AUD*¹*m*

316. *collis* *AUDH*¹*m* *collis* *KA*¹*m* *parochi* *UDH*¹*m* *and* *and*

317. *parochi* *A* *parochi* *DX*¹*m* *parochi* *AUXH*¹*m* *parochi* *D*

317. *parochi* *AUXH*¹*m* *parochi* *D* *parochi* *m*

- iussa fugit ventoque ratem committit et undis :
 580 asperior quovis aequore frater erat.
 est prope piscosos lapidosi Crathidis amnes
 parvus ager : Cameren incola turba vocat.
 illuc cursus erat, nec longius afuit inde,
 quam quantum novies mittere funda potest :
 585 vela cadunt primo et dubia librantur ab aura.
 " findite remigio " navita dixit " aquas ! "
 dumque parant torto subducere carbasa lino,
 percutitur rapido puppis adunca noto
 inque patens aequor frustra pugnante magistro
 590 fertur, et ex oculis visa refugit humus.
 adsiliunt fluctus, imoque a gurgite pontus
 vertitur, et canas alveus haurit aquas.
 vincitur ars vento, nec iam moderator habenis
 utitur ; a votis is quoque poscit opem.
 595 iactatur tumidas exul Phoenissa per undas
 . humidaque opposita lumina veste tegit :
 tunc primum Dido felix est dicta sorori
 et quaecumque aliquam corpore pressit humum
 600 figitur ad Laurens ingenti flamine litus
 puppis et expositis omnibus hausta perit.
 iam pius Aeneas regno nataque Latini
 auctus erat, populos miscueratque duos.
 litore dotali solo comitatus Achate
 secretum nudo dum pede carpit iter,
 605 aspicit errantem nec credere sustinet Annam
 esse : " quid in Latios illa veniret agros ? "
 dum secum Aeneas, " Anna est ! " exclamat Achates :
 ad nomen voltus sustulit illa suos.
 heu ! fugiat ? quid agat ? quos terrae quaerat hiatus ?
 610 ante oculos miserac fata sororis erant.

579. fugit *AUDXMM*¹ : facit *M*²*m*².

581. cratidis *AUMm*² : gaphidis *Dm*¹ : gapphidis *X*.

583. illuc *AUDXMM*² : illic *m*¹*C*⁵.

585. librantur *AUMm*² : vibrantur *DXm*¹.

586. findite *UDXMM* : findit *A*.

592. haurit *AUDMm*¹ : hausit *Xm*².

594. a votis *X*¹*m*² : aut votis *A*¹*UX*²*M*² : at votis *A*²*DMm*¹. is quoque *ADXMM*² : diis quoque *U* : dis quoque *m*² : hic quoque *m*¹. *Heinsius proposed to read* utitur, at votis : hic quoque poscit opem, *which is the reading of m*¹. *Burman conjectured* utitur. a votis disque reposcit opem. *With the sense compare Ovid, Tristia* i. 11. 21 sq. " Ipse gubernator tollens ad sidera palmas |

At his bidding she fled and committed her bark to the wind and the waves. Her brother was more cruel than any sea. Near the fishy streams of stony Crathis there is a champain small; the natives call it Camere. Thither she bent her course, and was no farther off than nine shots of a sling, 5 when the sails at first dropped and flapped in the puffs of wind. "Cleave the water with the oars," the seaman said. And while they made ready to furl the sails with the ropes, the swift south wind struck the curved poop and swept the ship, despite the captain's efforts, into the open sea; the 10 land receded from their sight. The surge assails them, and from its lowest depths the ocean is upheaved: the hull gulps down the foaming waters. Seamanship is powerless against the wind, and the steersman no longer handles the helm; he, too, resorts to prayers for help. The 15 Phoenician exile is tossed on the swelling waves and hides her wet eyes in her robe: then for the first time did she call her sister Dido happy, and happy any woman who anywhere did tread dry land. A mighty blast drove the ship on the Laurentine shore; she went down and perished, 20 but all on board got safe to land.

By this time Aeneas had gained the kingdom and the daughter of Latinus and had blended the two peoples. While, accompanied by Achates alone, he paced barefoot a lonely path on the shore with which his wife had 25 dowered him, he spied Anna wandering, nor could bring himself to think that it was she. Why should she come into the Latin land? thought he to himself. Meantime, "'Tis Anna!" cried Achates. At the sound of the name she looked up. Alas! should she flee? what should she 30 do? where should she look for the earth to yawn for her? Her hapless sister's fate rose up before her eyes.

exposcit votis, immemor artis, open"; Metamorph. ii. 184-186 "Acta | præcipiti pinus borea, cui victa remisit | frena suus rector, quam dis votisque reliquit."

596. humidaque UD¹X¹M¹m: umidaque A.

597. tunc AD¹M¹m¹: tum U(?)X¹m¹.

599. figitur D¹X¹m¹: ducitur AU¹M¹m¹: truditur Gerts.

602. auctus AU¹M¹m¹: actus U¹: functus D: iunctus X¹m¹.

603. dotali AU¹D¹M¹m¹: de tali X¹m¹.

608. illa AU¹D¹X¹M¹m¹: ipsa M¹.

609. heu AU¹X¹M¹m¹: quo DM¹m¹: quid X¹m¹.

610. fata DU¹X¹M¹m¹: facta AU¹.

- sensit et adloquitur trepidam Cythereius heros
 (flet tamen admonitu motus, Elissa, tui) :
 " Anna, per hanc iuro, quam quondam audire solebas
 tellurem fato prosperiore dari,
 615 perque deos comites, hac nuper sede locatos,
 saepe meas illos increpuisse moras.
 nec timui de morte tamen, metus abfuit iste.
 ei mihi ! credibili fortior illa fuit.
 ne refer : aspexi non illo corpore digna
 620 volnera Tartareas ausus adire domos.
 at tu, seu ratio te nostris appulit oris
 sive deus, regni commoda carpe mei.
 multa tibi memores, nil non debemus Elissae :
 nomine grata tuo, grata sororis, eris."
 625 talia dicenti (neque enim spes altera restat)
 credidit, errores exposuitque suos.
 utque domum intravit Tyrios induta paratus,
 incipit Aeneas (cetera turba silet) :
 " hanc tibi cur tradam, pia causa, Lavinia coniunx,
 630 est mihi : consumpsi naufragus huius opes.
 orta Tyro est, regnum Libyca possedit in ora ;
 quam precor ut carae more sororis ames."
 omnia promittit falsumque Lavinia volnus
 mente premit tacita dissimulatque fremens ;
 635 donaque cum videat praeter sua lumina ferri
 multa palam, mitti clam quoque multa putat.
 non habet exactum, quid agat ; furialiter odit
 et parat insidias et cupit ulta mori.
 nox erat : ante torum visa est adstare sororis
 640 squalenti Dido sanguinolenta coma
 et " fuge, ne dubita, maestum fuge " dicere " tectum ! "
 sub verbum querulas impulit aura fores.

611. adloquitur *A* : alloquitur *UDXMM*.

612. admonitu *DXMM* : admonitus *A* : ammonitus *U*. motus
AU¹XXM¹ : mortis *U¹Dm²*. tui *AU¹M¹m¹* : tuae *U¹Dm²* : tuo *XM²m¹*.
Perhaps we should read with D admonitu mortis, Elissa, tuae.

615. locatos *AUDXMM¹* : receptos *m²*.

617. nec *AUDXMM²* : non *m¹*. abfuit *DXMM¹* : affuit *m¹* : aufuit
U (*the first u in an erasure*) : adfuit *A*. iste *AUDXMM¹* : ille *m²*.

618. ei *AUDX* : hei *Mm*. fortior *AUDX²Mm¹* : certior *X¹m²*.

619. ne *AUDXM* : nec *m*. corpore *AUDMm²* : pectore *Xm¹BC*.

621. oris *AUXM* : horis *Dm*. 622. carpe *AUDXM¹m* : sume *M²*

623. nil non *AUDXM²m* : multum *M¹*.

The Cytherean hero perceived her distress and accosted her; yet did he weep, touched by memory of thee, Elissa. "Anna, by this land which in days gone by thou usedst to hear a happier fate had granted me; and by the gods who followed me and here of late have found a home, I swear 5 that they did often chide my loiterings. Nor yet did I dread her death; far from me was that fear. Woe's me! her courage surpassed belief. Tell not the tale. I saw the unseemly wounds upon her body what time I dared to visit the house of Tartarus. But thou, whether thine own 10 resolve or some god has brought thee to our shores, do thou enjoy my kingdom's comforts. Much our gratitude doth owe to thee, and something, too, to Elissa. Welcome shalt thou be for thine own sake and welcome for thy sister's." She believed his words, for no other hope was left her, and she told her 15 wanderings. And when she entered the palace, clad in Tyrian finery, Aeneas opened his lips, while the rest of the assembly kept silence: "My wife Lavinia, I have a dutiful reason for entrusting this lady to thy care; when I was shipwrecked I consumed her substance. She is of Tyrian 20 descent; she owns a kingdom on the Libyan coast; I pray thee, love her as a dear sister." Lavinia promised everything, but in the silence of her heart she hid her fancied wrong and dissembled her rage; and when she saw many presents carried openly before her eyes, she thought that 25 many were also sent secretly. She had not decided what to do. She hated like a fury, and hatched a plot, and longed to die avenged. 'Twas night. Before her sister's bed it seemed that Dido stood, her unkempt hair dabbled in blood. "Fly, fly this dismal house," she seemed to say, 30 "O falter not!" At the word a blast did slam the creaking

628. silet *UDXm*: tacet *A*.630. consumpsi *AUDXM²m*: cum sumpsi *M²*633. clausum (*for falsum*) *Koch*.634. fremens *UXm¹*: metus *AMm²*: metum *D*.635. videat *ADMm²*: vidit *UXm¹*, ferri *AUDXMm¹*: mitti *m²*.636. palam *UDXm¹*: tamen *AMm²*, 637. habet *AUDMm²*: tamen *Xm¹*.638. et parat *AMm²*: praeparat *DXm¹*: preparat *U*.639. adstare *A*: astare *UDXMm*.640. squalenti *UDXm*: squalenti *M*: squalendi *A*.641. et fuge *S*: effuge *AUXXMm*: exfuge *U¹*, fuge dicere *AUX²m¹*: fuge ducere *DX¹*: soror effuge *U²Mm²*.

- exilit et velox humili super arva fenestra
 se iacit : audacem fecerat ipse timor.
 645 quaque metu rapitur, tunica velata recincta
 currit, ut auditis territa damma lupis.
 corniger hanc tumidis rapuisse Numicius undis
 creditur et stagnis occuluisse suis.
 Sidonis interea magno clamore per agros
 650 quacritur : apparent signa notaeque pedum :
 ventum erat ad ripas : inerant vestigia ripis.
 sustinuit tacitas conscius amnis aquas.
 ipsa loqui visa est " placidi sum nympha Numici :
 amne perenne latens Anna Perenna vocor."
 655 protinus erratis laeti vescuntur in agris
 et celebrant largo seque diemque mero.
- sunt quibus haec Luna est, quia mensibus impleat annum ,
 pars Themis, Inachiam pars putat esse bovein.
 invenies, qui te nymphen Atlantida dicant
 660 teque Iovi primos, Anna, dedisse cibos.
 haec quoque, quam referam, nostras pervenit ad aures
 fama nec a veri dissidet illa fide.
 plebs vetus et nullis etiam nunc tuta tribunis
 fugit et in Sacri vertice montis erat ;
 665 iam quoque, quem secum tulerant, defecerat illos
 victus et humanis usibus apta Ceres.
 orta suburbanis quaedam fuit Anna Bovillis,
 pauper, sed multae sedulitatis anus.
 illa levi mitra canos incincta capillos
 670 fingeat tremula rustica liba manu,

643. humili *UDXMM* : illi *AS* : illic *BS* arva *DXMM*¹ : ausa *AUM*²*B* and many *S*.

645. quaque *UD*¹*m*¹. cumque *AXMM*². dumque *D*³ Heinicus conjectured quoque metus rapuit. 646. damna *UXMM* : dama *D* : damna *A*.

647. tumidis *AUDXM*²*Mm*² : cupidis *X*¹*m*¹*B* : rapidis *C*.

650. notaeque *AXDMM* : notata *U* pedum *UDXMM* : petunt *A*.

652. tacitas *AUDMM*² : tenues *Xm*¹. conscius *AUXMM* : concitus *D*.

653. placidi *AUDMM*² : rapidi *Xm*¹.

655. laeti *AUMm*¹ : leti *DX*² : late *X*¹*m*². agris *AUDXM*²*m* : arvis *M*¹.

656. seque *AUDXMm*. remque *Merkel*³, *Riese*, *Davies*, *Bailey* (on what authority I know not : *U*'s reading seque is perfectly clear, without the trace of a variant, in *A* and my other MSS.). 658. themin *UDXMm* : themim *A*.

659. atlantida *U*²*m*¹ : athlantida *D*¹ : athlantida *D*²*m*² : atalantida *M* : aramnida *m*² : alanida *AC*¹ : azamnida *X* : azanida *E. H. Alton* (*Hermathena*, xlv. (1926) p. 114, perhaps rightly ; the adjective *Azanis* would then be equi-

door. Up she leaped, and quick she threw herself out of the low window upon the ground: her very fear had made her bold. And where her terror carried her, she ran, clad in her ungirt tunic, as runs a frightened doe that hears the wolves. 'Tis thought the horned Numicius swept her 5 away in his swollen stream and hid her in his pools. Meantime with clamour loud they sought the lost Sidonian lady through the fields: traces and footprints met their eyes: on coming to the banks they found her tracks upon the banks. The conscious river checked and hushed his stream. Herself 10 appeared to speak: "I am a nymph of the calm Numicius. In a perennial river I hide, and Anna Perenna is my name." Straightway they feast joyfully in the fields over which they had roamed, and toast themselves and the day in deep draughts of wine.

Some think that this goddess is the moon, because the moon fills up the measure of the year (*annus*) by her months; others deem that she is Themis; others suppose that she is the Inachian cow. You shall find some to say that thou, Anna, art a nymph, daughter of Atlas, and that thou didst 20 give Jupiter his first food. Yet another report, which I will relate, has come to my ears, and it is not far from what we may take as true. The common folk of old, not yet protected by tribunes, had fled, and abode upon the top of the Sacred Mount; now, too, the provisions which they had brought 25 with them and the bread fit for human use had failed them. There was a certain Anna, born at suburban Bovillae, a poor old woman, but very industrious. She, with her grey hair bound up in a light cap, used to mould country cakes with

valent to Arcadian, for Azania was a district of Arcadia; see Pausanias, viii. 4. 3. x. 32. 3).

662. veri *AMm*² and apparently most MSS.: vera *UDXm*¹ (preferred by Heinsius).

663. et *UDXm*: est *A* nunc *AUDX*: tunc *MS*. tribunis *AUDX²Mm*¹: tributis *X¹m*²

664. erat *AX*(in erasure)*m*²: erant *M*: abit *UDm*¹: agit Bentley: eget Merkel².

665. secum tulerant *AUM*: tulerant secum *DXm*. illos *AUM*: illis *DXm*.

668. multae *AUXMm*²: mundae *Dm*¹. 'anus *AUXMm*: opus *D*.

669. incincta *AMm*² and apparently most MSS.: redimita *UDXm*¹. Compare Ovid, Metamorph. xiv. 654 "Ille etiam picta redimitus tempora mitra."

670. fingeat *UDXm*: cingeat *A*: scindebat a few *S*.

atque ita per populum fumantia mane solebat
dividere : haec populo copia grata fuit.
pace domi facta signum posuere Perennae,
quod sibi defectis illa ferebat opem.

- 675 nunc mihi cur cantent superest obscena puellae
dicere ; nam coeunt certaue probra canunt.
nuper erat dea facta : venit Gradivus ad Annam
et cum seducta talia verba facit :
“ mense meo coleris, iunxi mea tempora tecum :
680 pendet ab officio spes mihi magna tuo.
armifer armiferae correptus amore Minervae
uror et hoc longo tempore volnus alo.
effice, di studio similes coeamus in unum :
conveniunt partes hac tibi, comis anus.”
685 dixerat. illa deum promisso ludit inani
et stultam dubia spem trahit usque mora.
saepius instanti “ mandata peregrinus,” inquit
“ evicta est, precibus vix dedit illa manus.”
credit amans thalamosque parat. deducitur illuc
690 Anna tegens voltus, ut nova nupta, suos.
oscula sumpturus subito Mars aspicit. Annam :
nunc pudor elusum, nunc subit ira deum.
ridet amatorem carae nova diva Minervae,
nec res hac Veneri gratior ulla fuit.
695 inde ioci veteres obscenaque dicta canuntur,
et iuvat hanc magno verba dedisse deo.

- praeteriturus eram gladios in principe fixos,
cum sic a castis Vesta locuta focis :
“ ne dubita meminisse : meus fuit ille sacerdos,
700 sacrilegae telis me petiere manus.

671. ita *AUDMm*¹ : ca *X(in erasure)m*².
673. perennae *Xm*³ : perenne *AUDMm*¹
674. defectis *UDXMm* : defectas *A*. ferebat *AUm*³ : tulisset *DXMm*¹.
677. annam *AUDXMm* : illam *M*².
679. iunxi *UDXMm* : vixi *X*¹ : iunxit *A*. tecum *AUDXMm* : secum *A*¹.
681. armifer *AUDMm*¹ : armiger *Xm*². armiferae *AUDXMm*¹ :
armigerae *m*². Minervae *AUXMm* : dianae *D*.
683. dii *AUDXMm*² : de *UXm*¹.
684. haec *UDXM* : haec *Am*.
685. deum *AUDXMm*¹ : tamen *M*².

tremulous hand, and it was her wont at morn to distribute them piping hot among the people: the supply was welcome to the people. When peace was made at home, they set up a statue to Perenna, because she had supplied them in their time of need.

Now it remains for me to tell why girls chant ribald songs; for they assemblè and sing certain scurrilous verses. When Anna had been but lately made a goddess, the Marching God (*Gradivus*) came to her, and taking her aside spoke as follows: "Thou art worshipped in my month, I have 10 joined my season to thine: I have great hope in the service that thou canst render me. An armed god myself, I have fallen in love with the armed goddess Minerva; I burn and for a long time have nursed this wound. She and I are deities alike in our pursuits; contrive to unite us. That office well 15 befits thee, kind old dame." So he spoke. She duped the god by a false promise, and kept him dangling on in foolish hope by dubious delays. When he often pressed her, "I have done thy bidding," said she, "she is conquered and has yielded at last to thine entreaties." The lover believed her 20 and made ready the bridal chamber. Thither they escorted Anna, like a bride, with a veil upon her face. When he would have kissed her, Mars suddenly perceived Anna; now shame, now anger moved the god befooled. The new goddess laughed at dear Minerva's lover. Never did anything please 25 Venus more than that. So old jokes are cracked and ribald songs are sung, and people love to remember how Anna choused the great god.

I was about to pass by in silence the swords that stabbed the prince, when Vesta spoke thus from her chaste hearth: 30 "Doubt not to recall them: he was my priest, it was at me these sacrilegious hands struck with the steel. I myself

686. et stultam dubia spem trahit usque mora *AUDM*: et stultum dubia speque moraque trahit *Xm*¹: spem trahit usque mora *m*²(in margin).

688. evicta est *AUm*²: et victa est *m*¹: evictas *M*: et victas *DXm*².

689. credit *ADAm*²: gaudet *UXm*¹.

693. ridet *Xm*¹: risit *D*: ludis *AUMm*². carae *AUDXm*¹: carae *m*² and a few *s*: ravae *Bentley*, *Riese*: castae *Francius* (quoted by *Burman*) perhaps rightly: cara est *Merkel*²: cara es *Ehwald-Livy* (reading ludis for ridet).

694. hac *UDXm*²: a *A*.

- 725 carminis huius opus causas exponere, quare
 vilis anus populos ad sua liba vocet.
 ante tuos ortus arae sine honore fuerunt,
 Liber, et in gelidis herba reperta focis.
 te memorant Gange totoque Oriente subacto
 730 primitias magno seposuisse Iovi.
 cinnama tu primus captivaque tura dedisti
 deque triumphato viscera tosta bove.
 nomina ab auctoris ducunt libamina nomen
 libaque, quod sanctis pars datur inde focis.
 735 liba deo fiunt, sucis quia dulcibus idem
 gaudet, et a Baccho mella reperta ferunt.
 ibat harenoso satyris comitatus ab Hebro
 (non habet ingratos fabula nostra iocos),
 iamque erat ad Rhodopen Pangaeaue florida ventum :
 740 aeriferac comitum concrepuere manus.
 ecce novae coeunt volucres tinnitibus actae,
 quosque movent sonitus aera, sequuntur apes.
 colligit errantes et in arbore claudit inani
 Liber et inventi praemia mellis habet.
 745 ut satyri levisque senex tetigere saporem,
 quacrebant flavos per nemus omne favos.
 audit in exesa stridorem examinis ulmo,
 aspicit et ceras dissimulatque senex ;
 utque piger pandi tergo residebat aselli,
 750 applicat hunc ulmo corticibusque cavis.
 constitit ipse super ramoso stipite nixus
 atque avide trunco condita mella petit.
 milia crabronum coeunt et vertice nudo
 spicula defigunt oraue sima notant.

725. exponere *AUDMm*² : expromere *Xm*¹.

726. vilis anus *DMm*² : vit (*corrected*) anus *A* : vitisator *UXm*¹. *If we accept vitisator, the meaning will be that Bacchus, "the planter of the vine," invites people to partake of his cake. The reading vitisator has good MS. authority, and is not likely to have been invented by a copyist; whereas vilis anus might easily be concocted out of line 765* vocet *A²UD²XMm* : vocat *A¹D¹*.

728. reperta *ALUXMm* : recepta *D*.

730. seposuisse *AUXMm* : subposuisse *D*.

733. ducunt *AU²DXM¹m* : dicunt *U¹* : debent *M²*.

734. sc¹s (= sanctis) *AU* : sanctis *Mm*² : sacris *DXm*¹.

735. idem *AM* : ille *UDXmBC⁵*.

736. reperta *UDXm* : referta *A*.

the business of this song ; the business of this song is to set forth the reasons why a vulgar old woman hawks cakes to the people. Before thy birth, Liber, the altars were without offerings, and grass grew on the cold hearths. They tell how, after subjugating the Ganges and the whole East, thou didst 5 set apart first-fruits for great Jupiter. Thou wert the first to offer cinnamon and incense from the conquered lands, and the roast flesh of oxen led in triumph. Libations (*libamina*) derive their name from their author, and so do cakes (*liba*), because part of them is offered on the hallowed hearths. 10 Cakes are made for the god, because he delights in sweet juices, and they say that honey was discovered by Bacchus. Attended by the satyrs he was going from sandy Hebrus (my tale includes a pleasant jest), and had come to Rhodope and flowery Pangaeus, when the cymbals in the hands 15 of his companions clashed. Lo, drawn by the tinkle, winged things, as yet unknown, assemble, and the bees follow the sounding brass. Liber collected the stragglers and shut them up in a hollow tree ; and he was rewarded by the discovery of honey. Once the satyrs and the bald-pated ancient had 20 tasted it, they sought for the yellow combs in every grove. In a hollow elm the old fellow heard the humming of a swarm ; he spied the combs and kept his counsel. And sitting lazily on the back of an ass, that bent beneath his weight, he rode the beast up to the elm, where the bark was hollow. 25 Then he stood on the ass, and leaning upon a branching stump he greedily reached at the honey stored in the bole. Thousands of hornets gathered, and thrust their stings into his bald pate, and left their mark on his snub-nosed face. Head-

737. ab *UDXMm* : ad *A*.

738. nostra *UDXMm* : sera *A*.

739. pangaeaeque *M*² : pangaeaeque *AUDXm* : pancheaque *M*¹. florida
*DXm*¹ : flumina *AUMm*².

740. concrepuere *AU²DXM²m*¹ : cum crepuere *U¹M¹m*².

741. actae *AUDXMm*¹ : auctae *m*².

745. levisque *AU¹Xm*² : lenisque *U²DMm*¹.

748. ceras *UDXMm* : ceteras *A*.

749. pandi tergo *AUDM* : tergo pandi *Xm*. residebat *AUDXM¹m* :
consedit *M*².

750. applicat *ADXMm* : ampicat *U*.

753. crabronum *DXM¹m* : cabronum *A* : scrabonum *U* : carbonum *M*².

754. sima *Heinsius* : summa *UDX* : suma *m* : prima *AM*.

- 755 ille cadit praeceps et calce feritur aselli
 inclamatque suos auxiliumque rogat.
 concurrunt satyri turgentiaque ora parentis
 rident : percusso claudicat ille genu.
 ridet et ipse deus limumque inducere monstrat ;
 760 hic paret monitis et linit ora luto.
 melle pater fruitur, liboque infusa calenti
 iure repertori candida mella damus.
 femina cur presset, non est rationis oportae :
 femineos thyrsos concitat ille choros.
 765 cur anus hoc faciat, quaeris ? vinosior aetas
 haec est et gravidæ munera vitis amat.
 cur hedera cincta est ? hedera est gratissima Baccho :
 hoc quoque cur ita sit, dicere nulla mora est.
 Nysiadæ nymphas puerum quaerente noverca
 770 hanc frondem cunis opposuisse ferunt.
 restat, ut inveniam, quare toga libera detur
 Lucifero pueris, candide Bacche, tuo :
 sive quod ipse puer semper iuvenisque videris,
 et media est aetas inter utrumque tibi :
 775 seu, quia tu pater es, patres sua pignora, natos,
 commendant curæ numinibusque tuis :
 sive, quod es Liber, vestis quoque libera per te
 sumitur et vitæ liberioris iter :
 an quia, cum colerent prisci studiosius agros,
 780 et faceret patrio rure senator opus,
 et caperet fasces a curvo consul aratro,
 nec crimen duras esset habere manus,
 rusticus ad ludos populus veniebat in urbem
 (sed dis, non studiis ille dabatur honor :
 785 luce sua ludos uvæ commentor habebat,
 quos cum tacidifera nunc habet ille dea) :

755. aselli *UDXMm* : asellus *A*¹ : asellos *A*².

756. rogat *AUDXMm*² : vocat *M*²*m*¹.

758. percusso *AUDMm* : percusso *X*. ille *ADXMm* : ipse *U*.

762. candida *UDm* : splendida *AX*(corrected)*M*.

763. presset *AU¹D* : prestat *U*² : praesit *XMm*.

764. choros *AUDXM²m* : toros *M*².

765. hoc *AUXM¹m* : haec *DM*².

766. est *DXm*² : erat *AUMm*¹. amat *ADMm*² : amans *UXm*¹.

768. dicere *UDXMm* : discere *A*.

long he fell, and the ass kicked him, while he called to his comrades and implored their help. The satyrs ran to the spot and laughed at their parent's swollen face : he limped on his hurt knee. Bacchus himself laughed and taught him to smear mud on his wounds ; Silenus took the hint and smudged his face with mire. The father god enjoys honey, and it is right that we should give to its discoverer clear honey infused in hot cakes. The reason why a woman should knead the cakes is plain enough : Bacchus rouses bands of women by his thyrsus. You ask why it is an old woman who does it. 10 That age is more addicted to wine, and loves the bounty of the teeming vine. Why is she wreathed with ivy ? Ivy is most dear to Bacchus. Why that is so can also soon be told. They say that when the stepmother was searching for the boy, the nymphs of Nysa screened the cradle in ivy leaves. 15

It remains for me to discover why the gown of liberty is given to boys, fair Bacchus, on thy day, whether it be because thou seemest ever to be a boy and a youth, and thy age is midway between the two ; or it may be that, because thou art a father, fathers commend to thy care and divine 20 keeping the pledges that they love, their sons ; or it may be that because thou art Liber, the gown of liberty is assumed and a freer (*liberior*) life is entered upon under thine auspices. Or was it because, in the days when the ancients tilled the fields more diligently, and a senator laboured on his ancestral 25 land, when a consul exchanged the bent plough for the rods and axes of office, and it was no crime to have horny hands, the country folk used to come to the city for the games (but that was an honour paid to the gods, not a concession to popular tastes, the discoverer of the grape held on his own 30 day those games which now he shares with the torch-bearing

769. nysiadas nymphas *U* : nisiadas nymphas *A* : nisiades nymphas *D* : nysiades nymphas *M* : nysiades nymphæ *Xm*.

770. opposuisse ferunt *AUDAm*² : composuisse ferunt *M*² : opposuere novis *Xm*¹.

772. lucifero . . . tuo *UDXM* : luceferi . . . tua *A* : luce feris . . . tua *M*.

775. seu *UDXMm* : sed *A*. pater *AUDXM* : puer *m*.

777. vestis quoque *UDXMm* : vestisque *A*.

779. an *AUM* : aut *DX*. colerent prisce *AUDXm* : prisce colerent *M*.

780. faceret patrio *AUM* : patrio faceret *DXm*. rure *AUXMm* : iure *D*.

786. ille *ADXMm* : ipse *U*.

ergo ut tironem celebrare frequentia posset,
 visa dies dandae non aliena togae ?
 mite caput, pater, huc placataque cornua vertas
 et des ingenio vela secunda meo.

Itur ad Argeos (qui sint, sua pagina dicet)
 hac, si commemini, praeteritaque die.
 stella Lycaoniam vergit declivis ad Areton
 Miluus : haec illa nocte videnda venit.
 795 quid dederit volucris, si vis cognoscere, caelum :
 Saturnus regnis a Iove pulsus erat ;
 concitat iratus validos Titanas in arma,
 quaeque fuit fatis debita, temptat opem.
 matre satus Terra, monstrum mirabile, taurus
 800 parte sui serpens posteriore fuit :
 hunc triplici muro lucis incluserat atris
 Parcarum monitu Styx violenta trium.
 viscera qui tauri flammis adolenda dedisset,
 sors erat aeternos vincere posse deos.
 805 immolat hunc Briareus facta ex adamante securi,
 et iam iam flammis exta daturus erat :
 Iuppiter alitibus rapere imperat ; attulit illi
 miluus et meritis venit in astra suis.

Una dies media est, et fiunt sacra Minervae,
 810 nomina quae iunctis quinque diebus habent.
 sanguine prima vacat, nec fas concurrere ferro :
 causa, quod est illa nata Minerva die.
 altera tresque super strata celebrantur harena :
 ensibus exertis bellica laeta dea est.

787. tironem *U* : tyronem *m*¹ : tironum *A* : tyronum *DXMm*². posset
UDXm : possit *AM*.

789. mite *UX(corrected)Mm(corrected)* : mitte *AD* and many *S*.

791. sua *AU²DMm³* : mea *U¹Xm¹*. dicit *AU²DXMm* : dixit *U¹*.

792. si commemini *AUM²m³* : si quid memini *XM¹m¹* : sicut memini
DCS.

793. vergit *AUXMm* : vergens *D*. declivis *DMm²* : declinis *A* :
 proclivis *UXM²* : proclivus *m¹*. In *Lucan* iv. 427, the mss. similarly vary
 between declinibus and declivibus : *Housman* prefers declinibus.

795. quid *AUDM²m¹* : qui *XM¹m³*. dederit *UDXMm* : derit *A*.

797. in *AUM¹m³* : ad *DXm¹BC*.

798. temptat *AU* : tentat *M* : poscit *DXmBC*.

goddess); and the day therefore seemed not unsuitable for conferring the gown, in order that a crowd might gather round the novice? Thou Father God, hither turn thy horned head, mild and propitious, and to the favouring breezes spread the sails of my poetic art!

5

On this day, if I remember aright, and on the preceding day, there is a procession to the Argei. What the Argei are, will be told in the proper place. The star of the Kite slopes downwards towards the Lycaonian Bear: on that night it becomes visible. If you would know what raised the bird to 10 heaven, Saturn had been dethroned by Jupiter. In his wrath he stirred up the strong Titans to take arms and sought the help the Fates allowed him. There was a bull born of its mother Earth, a wondrous monster, the hinder part whereof was a serpent: him, at the warning of the three Fates, grim 15 Styx had shut up in gloomy woods enclosed by a triple wall. There was an oracle that he who should burn the inwards of the bull in the flames would be able to conquer the eternal gods. Briareus sacrificed him with an axe made of adamant, and was just about to put the entrails on the fire: Jupiter 20 commanded the birds to snatch them away; the kite brought them to him and was promoted to the stars for his services.

XIV. KAL. 19th.

After an interval of one day rites are performed in honour of Minerva, which get their name from a group of five days. The first day is bloodless, and it is unlawful to combat with 25 the sword, because Minerva was born on that day. The second day and three besides are celebrated by the spreading of sand: the warlike goddess delights in drawn swords. Ye

806. et iam iam flammis *AUXMm*: et iam in flammas *D*.

807. illi *AUm*²: illa *DXMm*¹.

808. in *AUDXMm*²: ad *m*¹.

809. et *AUDXMm*²: post *M*¹.

810. nomina quae *first Aldine edition*: nomina quae adiunctis *U*: nominaque a iunctis *DXm*²: nominaque adiunctis *m*¹: numinaque adiunctis *AM*. habent *UD(?)Xm*¹: habet *MPC*⁵: habes *AM²m²B⁵*.

813. strata *UDXm*¹: rasa *A*: sparsa *Mm*².

814. exertis *UDXm*¹: expertis *AMm*².

- 815 Pallada nunc pueri teneraeque orate puellae :
 qui bene placarit Pallada, doctus erit.
 Pallade placata lanam mollire puellae
 discant et plenas exonerare colos.
 illa etiam stantis radio percurrere telas
 820 erudit et rarum pectine denset opus.
 hanc cole, qui maculas laesis de vestibus aufers,
 hanc cole, velleribus quisquis aëna paras ;
 nec quisquam invita faciet bene vincula plantae
 Pallade, sit Tychio doctior ille licet ;
 825 et licet antiquo manibus conlatus Epeo
 sit prior, irata Pallade mancus erit.
 vos quoque, Phoebea morbos qui pellitis arte,
 munera de vestris pauca referte deae :
 nec vos, turba fere censu fraudata, magistri,
 830 spernite ; discipulos attrahit illa novos :
 quique moves caelum, tabulamque coloribus uris,
 quique facis docta mollia saxa manu.
 mille dea est operum : certe dea carminis illa est ;
 si mereor, studiis adsit amica meis.
- 835 Caelius ex alto qua mons descendit in aequum,
 hic, ubi non plana est, sed prope plana via,
 parva licet videas Captae delubra Minervae,
 quae dea natali coepit habere suo.
 nominis in dubio causa est. capitale vocamus
 840 ingenium sollers : ingeniosa dea est.
 an quia de capitis fertur sine matre paterni
 vertice cum clipeo prosiluisse suo ?
 an quia perdomitis ad nos captiva Faliscis
 venit ? et hoc ipsum littera prisca docet.

815. teneraeque *UDXmm* : teneraeque *A*. orate *UDm*² : orate *Xmm*¹
 and many *S* : ornatae *A*. 818. discant et *AUDXmm*² : discite iam *m*¹.

819. telas *A²UDXm* : tellas *M* : lanas *A*¹.

820. denset *AUX¹m*¹ : densat *DX²Mm²C* and many *S*.

821. maculas laesis *ADXmm* : laesis maculas *U*.

823. bene vincula *AUDXmm*² : berercyntida *m*¹.

824. tychio *S* : stychio *U* : ticio *DX* : pticio *A* : titio *m*¹ : picio *M*¹ ;
 pticio *M*². 825. antiquo *Xmm* : antiqua *A*. conlatus *A* : collatus
UDXmm. epeo *AUm* : epio *DX* : epaeo *M*.

826. irata *AUMm*² : invita *DXm*¹. 828. referte *UDXmm* : referre *A*.

829. fere *A* : feri *UDXm* : ferae *Mm*(*P*). censu *some S* : sensu
*AUDXmm*² : sensus *m*¹. fraudata *Um*² : fraudate *AXm* : fraudante *DMm*².

boys and tender girls, pray now to Pallas ; he who shall have won the favour of Pallas will be learned. When once they have won the favour of Pallas, let girls learn to card the wool and to unload the full distaffs. She also teaches how to traverse the upright warp with the shuttle, and she drives 5 home the loose threads with the comb. Worship her, thou who dost remove stains from damaged garments ; worship her, thou who dost make ready the brazen caldrons for the fleeces. If Pallas frown, no man shall make shoes well, though he were more skilful than Tychius ; and though he 10 were more adroit with his hands than Epeus of old, yet shall he be helpless, if Pallas be angry with him. Ye too, who banish sicknesses by Phoebus' art, bring from your earnings a few gifts to the goddess. And spurn her not, ye school-masters, ye tribe too often cheated of your income, she 15 attracts new pupils ; and thou who dost ply the graving tool and paint pictures in encaustic colours, and thou who dost mould the stone with deft hand (spurn not the goddess). She is the goddess of a thousand works : certainly she is the goddess of song ; may she be friendly to my pursuits, if I 20 deserve it.

Where the Caelian Mount descends from the height into the plain, at the point where the street is not level but nearly level, you may see the small shrine of Minerva Capta, which the goddess owned for the first time upon her birthday. The 25 origin of the name Capta is doubtful. We call ingenuity "capital" ; the goddess herself is ingenious. Did she get the name of Capta because she is said to have leaped forth motherless with her shield from the crown of her father's head (*caput*) ? Or because she came to us as a captive at the 30 conquest of Falerii ? This very fact is attested by an ancient

830. attrahit *AUX²Mm²* : attrahet *DX²m¹*.

831. uris *AUDXM¹m* : implet *M²*.

832. mollia *AUXM¹m* : mitia *D*.

834. adsit *AMm¹* : assit *UDXm²*.

835. aequum *AUDX²M* : aequa *X²mC⁵*.

837. captae *Adm²* : castae *UXm²* : cupitae *M*. minervae *AUXMm¹* : dianae *Dm²*.

838. quae dea *AUDXM¹m* : quaedam *M²*. habere *A²UDXMm* : amare *A¹*.

841. paterni *A²UDXMm* : parenti *A¹*.

844. ipsum *UDXm¹* : signo *AMm²* : sic nos *Riese*. prisca *UDXm* : prima *AM*.

- 845 an quod habet legem, capitis quae pendere poenas
ex illo iubeat furta reperta loco?
a quacumque trahis ratione vocabula, Pallas,
pro ducibus nostris aegida semper habe.

- Summa dies e quinque tubas lustrare canoras
850 admonet et forti sacrificare deae.
nunc potes ad solem sublato dicere voltu
"hic here Phrixeae vellera pressit ovis."
seminibus tostis sceleratae fraude novercae
sustulerat nullas, ut solet, herba comas.
855 mittitur ad tripodas, certa qui sorte reportet,
quam sterili terrae Delphicus edat opem.
hic quoque corruptus cum semine nuntiat Helles
et iuvenis Phrixi funera sorte peti;
utque recusantem cives et tempus et Ino
860 compulerunt regem iussa nefanda pati,
et soror et Phrixus, velati tempora vittis,
stant simul ante aras iunctaque fata gemunt.
aspicit hos, ut forte pependerat aethere, mater
et ferit attonita pectora nuda manu,
865 inque draconigenam nimbis comitantibus urbem
desilit et natos eripit inde suos;
utque fugam capiant, aries nitidissimus auro
traditur: ille vehit per freta longa duos.
dicitur infirma cornu tenuisse sinistra
870 femina, cum de se nomina fecit aquae.
paene simul periit, dum volt succurrere lapsae
frater, et extentas porrigit usque manus.

845. poenas *AUDXMm*: poena *Bentley*.

846. ex illo *UDXMm*: exilio *A* and many *s*. furta *AUDX²Mm¹*:
fructa *X²m²*. reperta *UM²m¹*: recepta *ADX*(corrected)*m²C* and many
s. As to the law to which Ovid here refers, compare *Festus*, s.v. "Capitalis
lucus," p. 57 ed. *Lindsay*, "Capitalis lucus, ubi, si quid violatum est, caput
violatoris expiatur."

847. trahis *AUDm*: trahus *XM*.

849. e quinque *ADX²Mm²*: et quinque *U*: et quinta *X¹*. tubas
lustrare canoras *Um¹*: tuba lustrare canoras *A*: tuba lustrare canora *DXMm²*
and many *s*.

850. admonet *ADMm*: ammonet *UX*. deae *ADXMm²*: deo *Um¹*.

852. here *AUXMm*: heri *D*.

853. sceleratae *A²UDXMm²*: scelentae *A¹*: celebratae *m¹*.

855. certa *A²UDXMm*: certe *A¹*.

inscription. Or was it because she has a law which ordains capital punishment for thefts proved to have been committed in that place? From whatsoever source thou dost derive the title, O Pallas, do thou hold thine aegis ever before our leaders.

5

X. KAL. 23rd.

The last day of the five reminds us to purify the melodious trumpets and to sacrifice to the strong goddess.

Now you can look up to the sun and say, "Yesterday he set foot on the fleece of the Phrixean sheep." By the guile of a wicked stepmother the seeds had been roasted, so that 10 no corn sprouted in the wonted way. A messenger was sent to the tripods to report, by a sure oracle, what remedy the Delphic god would prescribe for the dearth. But he, corrupted like the seed, brought word that the oracle demanded the death of Helle and the stripling Phrixus; and when the 15 citizens, the season, and Ino compelled the reluctant king to submit to the wicked command, Phrixus and his sister, their brows veiled with fillets, stood together before the altars and bewailed the fate they shared. Their mother spied them, as by chance she hovered in the air, and thunderstruck she 20 beat her naked breast with her hand: then, accompanied by clouds, she leaped down into the dragon-begotten city and snatched from it her children, and that they might take to flight, a ram all glistening with gold was delivered to them. The ram bore the two over wide seas. It is said that the sister 25 relaxed the hold of her left hand on the ram's horn, when she gave her own name to the water. Her brother almost perished with her in attempting to succour her as she fell, and in holding out his hands at the utmost stretch. He wept

857. corruptus $U^1DXM^1m^2$: corruptus AM^2m^1 . semine $AUMm^2$.
sanguine DXm^1 .

859. utque DXm^2 : usque $AUMm^1$ and apparently most MSS.

860. compulerunt A : compulerant U^1DXMm .

861. vittis U^2Mm^2 : vitis A : ramis U^1DXm^1 .

862. iunctaque fata U^1DXMm : cunctaque facta A .

863. pependerit aethere $AUXMm$: pependit ab ethere D .

865. urbem U^2DXMm^2 : orbem A : urnam U^1m^1 .

866. eripit $AUDMm^1$: diripit Xm^2 .

870. cum $AUXMm$: quae D .

871. lapsae $AUDXMm^2$: lassae m^1 .

872. extensus $AUMm^2$: extensas DXm^1 .

flebat, ut amissa gemini consorte pericli,
 caeruleo iunctam nescius esse deo.
 875 litoribus tactis aries fit sidus, at huius
 pervenit in Colchas aurea lana domos.

Tres ubi Luciferos veniens praemiserit Eos,
 tempora nocturnis acqua diurna feres.

Inde quater pastor saturos ubi clauserit haedos,
 880 canuerint herbae rore recente quater,
 Ianus adorandus cumque hoc Concordia mitis
 et Romana Salus araue Pacis erit.

Luna regit mensis : huius quoque tempora mensis
 finit Aventino Luna colenda iugo.

873. flebat $U'DXMm$: frater A . ut $A'U'DM^1$: et XM^2m . gemini
 $A'U'DXMm^2$: genium m^1 .

875. tactis $U'DX^2Mm^2$: tactis A : captis $X^2m^1BC^5$. at $U'DXMm$:
 ad A .

876. in $A'UMm^2$: ad DXm^1 . colchas Mm : cholchas AD : cholcas U' :
 colchos X .

877. praemiserit eos $A'UXM^1m$. praemiserit eos D : praemisit eos M^2 .

878. feres $A'U'Dm^1$: feret XMm^2

880. canuerint $A'U'XMm$: canuerunt D .

881. cumque hoc $A'U'DXm$: cum quo B and many 5 . mitis $U'DXMm$:
 mitis A .

883. regit $A'U'DXMm^2$: reget m^1

at losing her who had shared his double peril, wotting not that she was wedded to the blue god. On reaching the shore the ram was made a constellation, but his golden fleece was carried to Colchian homes.

· VII. KAL. 26th.

When thrice the Morning Star shall have heralded the coming Dawn, you shall reckon the time of day equal to the time of night.

III. KAL. 30th.

When four times from that day the shepherd shall have folded the cloyed kids, and four times the grass shall have whitened under the fresh dew, it will be time to adore Janus, and gentle Concord with him, and Roman Safety, and the altar of Peace.

PR. KAL. 31st.

The moon rules the months: the period of this month also ends with the worship of the Moon on the Aventine Hill.

FASTORUM LIBER QUARTUS

LIBER QUARTUS

- " Alma, fave," dixi " geminorum mater Amorum ! "
 ad vatem voltus rettulit illa suos :
 " quid tibi " ait " mecum ? certe maiora canebas.
 num vetus in molli pectore volnus habes ? "
 5 " scis, dea," respondi " de vulnere." risit, et aether
 protinus ex illa parte serenus erat.
 " saucius an sanus numquid tua signa reliqui ?
 tu mihi propositum, tu mihi semper opus.
 quae decuit, primis sine crimine lusimus annis,
 10 nunc teritur nostris area maior equis :
 tempora cum causis annalibus eruta priscis
 lapsaque sub terras ortaque signa cano.
 venimus ad quartum, quo tu celeberrima mense :
 et vatem et mensem scis, Venus, esse tuos."
 15 mota Cytheriaca leviter mea tempora myrto
 contigit et " coeptum perfice " dixit " opus."
 sensimus, et causae subito patuere dierum :
 dum licet et spirant flamina, navis eat.

- Si qua tamen pars te de fastis tangere debet,
 20 Caesar, in Aprili, quo tenearis, habes.
 hic ad te magna descendit imagine mensis
 et fit adoptiva nobilitate tuus.
 hoc pater Iliades, cum longum scriberet annum,
 vidit et auctores rettulit ipse suos :

1. alma *U'DXm¹m* : diva *M²*.
 3. maiora *U'DXm¹m¹* : mora *A* : modo festa *M²m²*.
 5. scis *U'DXm¹m¹* : sis *A* : sic *m²*. aether *U'DXm¹* : aer *Mm²*.
 7. an *UXm¹* : an *A* : aut *DMm²*. numquid *m²s* : numquit *A* :
 nunquam *U'DXm¹m¹*. 8. opus *U'DXm¹* : onus *AMm²* : honos *two S*.
 9. annis *U'DXm¹m* : campis (?) *A*.
 12. cano *UXm¹m¹* : canam *ADm²*. 13. mense *AU* : mensem *DXm¹m*.
 14. mensem *U'DXm¹m* : montem *A¹* : mentem *A²*. tuum *some S*.
 15. cytheriaca *DXm²* : cytherea *U'A* : cythara *A* : cythericida *m¹*.
 16. contigit *U'DXm¹m¹* : cingit *m²*.
 17. causae subito *AM* : subito causae *U'DXm*

BOOK IV

"O GRACIOUS Mother of the Twin Loves," said I, "grant me thy favour." The goddess looked back at the poet. "What wouldst thou with me?" she said, "surely thou wast wont to sing of loftier themes. Hast thou an old wound rankling in thy tender breast?" "Goddess," I answered, "thou wottest of my wound." She laughed, and straightway the sky was serene in that quarter. "Hurt or whole, did I desert thy standards? Thou, thou hast ever been the task I set myself. In my young years I toyed with themes to match, and gave offence to none; now my 10 steeds tread a larger field. I sing the seasons, and their causes, and the starry signs that set beneath the earth and rise again, drawing my lore from annals old. We have come to the fourth month in which thou art honoured above all others, and thou knowest, Venus, that both the poet and 15 the month are thine." The goddess was moved, and touching my brows lightly with myrtle of Cythera, "Complete," said she, "the work thou hast begun." I felt her inspiration, and suddenly my eyes were opened to the causes of the days: proceed, my bark, while still thou mayest and the breezes 20 blow.

Yet if any part of the calendar should interest thee, Caesar, thou hast in April matter of concern. This month thou hast inherited by a great pedigree, and it has been made thine by virtue of thine adoption into a noble house. 25 When the Ilian sire was putting the long year on record, he saw the relationship and commemorated the authors of

19. tangere *AUDXMM*¹: dicere *m*²: ducere *Heinsius*.

20. quo tenearis *UXm*¹: quod tuearis *ADMM*². *In support of quo tenearis Heinsius quotes Ovid, Remedium amoris, 150 "da vacuae menti, quo teneatur, opus."*

21. imagine *Am*¹: origine *UDX²MM*².

23. iliades *UDXM*: illiades *m*: iliados *A*.

24. ipse *AUDXMM*¹: ille *m*² and many *S*. suos *DXMM*: tuos *AUS*.

- 25 utque fero Marti primam dedit ordine sortem,
 quod sibi nascenti proxima causa fuit,
 sic Venerem gradibus multis in gente repertam
 alterius voluit mensis habere locum ;
 principiumque sui generis revolutaque quaerens
 30 saecula cognatos venit adusque deos.
 Dardanon Electra nesciret Atlantide natum
 scilicet, Electram concubuisse Iovi ?
 huius Erichthonius : Tros est generatus ab illo :
 Assaracon creat hic, Assaracusque Capyn.
 35 proximus Anchises, cum quo commune parentis
 non dedignata est nomen habere Venus.
 hinc satus Aencas, pietas spectata, per ignes
 sacra patremque humeris, altera sacra, tulit.
 venimus ad felix aliquando nomen Iuli,
 40 unde domus Teucros Iulia tangit avos.
 Postumus hinc, qui quod silvis fuit ortus in altis,
 Silvius in Latia gente vocatus erat.
 isque, Latine, tibi pater est. subit Alba Latinum :
 proximus est titulis Epytus, Alba, tuis.
 45 ille dedit Capii recidiva vocabula Troiae
 et tuus est idem, Calpete, factus avus.
 cumque patris regnum post hunc Tiberinus haberet,
 dicitur in Tuscae gurgite mersus aquae.
 iam tamen Agrippan natum Remulumque nepotem
 50 viderat : in Remulum fulmina missa ferunt.
 venit Aventinus post hos, locus unde vocatur,
 mons quoque. post illum tradita regna Procae.
 quem sequitur duri Numitor germanus Amuli.
 Iliia cum Lauso de Numitore sãti.

26. nascenti *AUXMm*¹ : nascendi *Dm*³.

27. repertam *UDXm*³ : receptam *AMm*¹.

29. quaerens *UDXm*³ : quaero *A* : revoluta requirens *m*³.

31. nesciret *AUDXm*¹ and many *S* : quis nescit *Mm*³⁵. natum
*AUDXm*³ : cretum four *S* (reported by Heinsius).

34. assaracon *A* : assaracum *UDXm*³.

38. humeris *DXMm*³ : umeris *AU*.

41. hinc *AUDMm*³ : huic *Xm*¹. ortus *AUDXm*³¹ : natus *m*³.

43. isque *UDXm*³ : hisque *A*.

44. epytus *U*³ : epitus *ADXm*³ : epytor *U*¹ : egitus *X*¹.

45. capyi Scaliger : captae *AUDXm*³. recidiva *Dm*¹ : repetita
*AUXMm*³. Heinsius proposed to rewrite the line : Edidit ille Capyn, recidiva
 vocabula Troiae. 46. calpete *AUDXm*³¹ : carpette *X*¹ : capete *M* : capite
*m*³. avus *UDXm*³ : avos *A*.

his race: and as he gave the first lot in the order of the months to fierce Mars, because he was the immediate cause of his own birth, so he willed that the place of the second month should belong to Venus, because he ascertained his descent from her through many generations. In seeking 5 the origin of his race, he turned over the roll of the centuries and came at last to the gods whose blood he shared. How, prithee, should he not know that Dardanus was born of Electra, daughter of Atlas, and that Electra had lain with Jupiter? Dardanus had a son Erichthonius, who begat 10 Tros; and Tros begat Assaracus, and Assaracus begat Capys. Next came Anchises, with whom Venus did not disdain to share the name of parent. Of them was born Acneas, whose piety was proved when on his shoulders through the fire he bore the holy things and his own sire, 15 a charge as holy. Now at last have we come to the lucky name of Julius, through whom the Julian house reaches back to Teucrian ancestors. He had a son Postumus, who, because he was born in the deep woods, was called Silvius among the Latin folk. He was thy father, Latinus; Latinus 20 was succeeded by Alba, and next to Alba on the list was Epytus. He gave to his son Capys a Trojan name, revived for the purpose, and he was also the grandfather of Calpetus. And when Tiberinus possessed his father's kingdom after the death of Calpetus, he was drowned, it is said, in a deep 25 pool of the Tuscan river. Yet before that he had seen the birth of a son Agrippa and of a grandson Remulus; but Remulus, they say, was struck by levin-bolts. After them came Aventinus, from whom the place and also the hill took their name. After him the kingdom passed to Proca, who 30 was succeeded by Numitor, brother of hard-hearted Amulius. Ilia and Lausus were born to Numitor. Lausus fell by his

47. cumque patris regnum post hunc $AUDXm^1$: accipiens regnum post hunc m^2 and many ζ : cumque capit regnum post hunc *one* ζ : quique capit regnum posthac *Ehrwald-Levy*. haberet $UDXm$: ab illo *A and many* ζ .

49. natum $AUDMm^1$: genitum Xm^1 . nepotem $AUDXm^1$: nepotes Mm^2 .

51. aventinus $AUDMm^2$: aventino X^1m^1 : aventini X^2 . unde $AUDX^1Mm^1$: inde X^2m^2 .

52. procae $AUDMm^1$: focae $X(in\ erasure)m^2$.

53. diri (*for duri*) a few ζ .

54. ilia cum lauso de $UDXm$: iliade lauso cum A .

- 55 ense cadit patruo Lausus : placet Iliā Marti
teque parit, gemino iuncte Quirine Remo.
ille suos semper Venerem Martemque parentes
dixit et emeruit vocis habere fidem ;
neve secuturi possent nescire nepotes,
60 tempora dis generis continuata dedit.
sed Veneris mensem Graio sermone notatum
auguror : a spumis est dea dicta maris.
nec tibi sit mirum Graeco rem nomine dici ;
Itala nam tellus Graecia maior erat.
65 venerat Evander plena cum classe suorum :
venerat Alcides, Graius uterque genus
(hospes Aventinis armentum pavit in herbis
claviger, et tanto est Albula pota deo) :
dux quoque Neritius ; testes Laestrygonēs extant
70 et quod adhuc Circes nomina litus habet.
et iam Telegoni, iam moenia Tiburis udi
stabant, Argolicae quod posuere manus.
venerat Atridae fatis agitata Halesus,
a quo se dictam terra Falisca putat.
75 adice Troianae suasorem Antenora pacis
et generum Oeniden, Apule Daune, tuum.
serus ab Iliacis et post Antenora flammis
attulit Aeneas in loca nostra deos.
huius erat Solymus Phrygia comes unus ab Ida,
80 a quo Sulmonis moenia nomen habent,
Sulmonis gelidi, patriae, Germanice, nostrae.
me miserum, Scythico quam procul illa solo est !
ergo ego tam longe—sed subprime, Musa, querellas !
non tibi sunt maesta sacra canenda lyra.

55. patruo *one* *S* (approved by Heinsius) : patru *UDXMM* : patrio *A*.
59. secuturi *UDXMM* : securi *A*. possent (*for* possent) *U*. nepotes
*AUDMM*¹ : parentes *Xm*².
61. graio *UXMM*(?) : grato *A* : graeco *S*.
63. graeco rem *UDXMM*² : graecorum *Am*¹.
67. in herbis *AUDMM*² : in arvis *M*¹ : in herbis *X*.
69. neritius *CS* : nericius *U* : naritius *X¹m*¹ : naricius *D* : narricius
M : nereius *Am*².
70. quod *AUD²XMm* : quid *D*¹. circes *DXMM* : cyrces *U* :
circae *A*.
72. quod *ADXm* : quae *UM*.
73. atridae *ADXm* : atrides *UM*. halesus *D* : alesus *UXMM* :
halaesus *A*.

uncle's sword: Ilia found favour in the eyes of Mars and gave birth to thee, Quirinus, and thy twin brother Remus. He always averred that his parents were Venus and Mars, and he deserved to be believed when he said so; and that his descendants after him might know the truth, he assigned 5 successive periods to the gods of his race. But I surmise that the month of Venus took its name from the Greek language: the goddess was called after the foam of the sea. Nor need you wonder that a thing was called by a Greek name, for the Italian land was Greater Greece. 10 Evander had come to Italy with a fleet full of his people; Alcides also had come; both of them were Greeks by race. As a guest, the club-bearing hero fed his herd on the Aventine grass, and the great god drank of the Albula. The Neritian chief also came: witness the Laestrygonians and 15 the shore which still bears the name of Circe. Already the walls of Telegonus were standing, and the walls of moist Tibur, built by Argive hands. Driven from home by the tragic doom of Atrides, Halesus had come, after whom the Faliscan land deems that it takes its name. Add to 20 these Antenor, who advised the Trojans to make peace, and (Diomedes) the Oenid, son-in-law to Apulian Daunus. Aeneas from the flames of Ilium brought his gods into our land, arriving late and after Antenor. He had a comrade Solymus, who came from Phrygian Ida; from him the walls of Sulmo 25 take their name—cool Sulmo, my native town, Germanicus. Woe's me, how far is Sulmo from the Scythian land! Therefore shall I so far away—but check, my Muse, thy plaints; 'tis not for thee to warble sacred themes on mournful strings.

30

76. *generum* M^2m^2 : *genus* $AU'DXM^1m^1$ and many \bar{s} .

77. *serus* $UDXMm$: *senis* \bar{A} .

79. *huius* $AU'DX^1M^2$: *cuius* X^2m^1 . *solymus* U : *solimus* DX : *solemus* AMm . *phrygia* (or *frigian*) comes *unus* $AU'XMm$: comes *unus* D (omitting *phrygia*).

80. *quo* $UDXMm$: *qua* \bar{A} .

81. *gelidi* UDX^1M^2 : *gelidae* m^2 : *gelida* \bar{A} : *gelide* X^2m^1 . *nostrae* Mm : *nostri* UDX : *meae* \bar{A} .

82. *scythico* UMm : *scithico* \bar{A} : *scitico* D : *scytico* X .

83. *ergo* *ego* *tam* *longe* X^1m^2 : *ergo* *age* *tam* *longe* m^1 : *ergo* *age* *tam* *longas* $AUDX^1Mm^2$. *subprime* \bar{A} : *supprime* $UDXMm$ *querellas* AUm : *querelas* DXM .

- 85 quo non livor adit ? sunt qui tibi mensis honorem
 eripuisse velint invidiantque, Venus.
 nam quia ver aperit tunc omnia, densaque cedit
 frigoris asperitas, fetaque terra patet,
 Aprilem memorant ab aperto tempore dictum,
 90 quem Venus iniecta vindicat alma manu.
 illa quidem totum dignissima temperat orbem ;
 illa tenet nullo regna minora deo,
 iuraque dat caelo, terrae, natalibus undis,
 perque suos initus continet omne genus.
 95 illa deos omnes (longum est numerare) creavit :
 illa satis causas arboribusque dedit :
 illa rudes animos hominum contraxit in unum
 et docuit iungi cum pare quemque sua.
 quid genus omne creat volucrum, nisi blanda voluptas ?
 100 nec coeant pecudes, si levis absit amor.
 cum mare trux aries cornu decertat ; at idem
 frontem dilectae laedere parcit ovis.
 deposita sequitur taurus feritate iuvencam,
 quem toti saltus, quem nemus omne tremit.
 105 vis eadem, lato quodcumque sub aequore vivit,
 servat et innumeris piscibus implet aquas.
 prima feros habitus homini detraxit : ab illa
 venerunt cultus mundaque cura sui.
 primus amans carmen, vigilatum nocte negata
 110 dicitur ad clausas concinuisse fores,
 eloquiumque fuit duram exorare puellam,
 proque sua causa quisque disertus erat.
 mille per hanc artes motae ; studioque placendi
 quae latuere prius, multa reperta ferunt.
 115 hanc quisquam titulo mensis spoliare secundi
 audeat ? a nobis sit furor iste procul.

85. adit *AUDMm*² : abit *Xm*¹.86. invidiantque *UDXm* : invidatque *A*.87. cedit *DMm* : caedit *AUX*. 88. patet *AUDXMm* : parit *a few* 5.91. orbem *AUDXMm*¹ : annum *m*². 93. caelo *AUDX²Mm* : caeli *X*¹.94. initus *AUDX¹m*¹ : nutus *M*⁵ : coitus *X²m*²5.95. numerare *AXMm* : narrare *UD*. 98. sua *AUDXMm*² : suo *m*¹.100. cocant *ADXM* : cocunt *Um* (corrected).101. at *AU²DXM*¹ : et *M²m*² : ac *m*¹.103. deposita *UDXMm* : disposita *A*. sequitur taurus *AUDXMm* :taurus sequitur *three* 5.

Where doth not sallow envy find a way? Some there are who grudge thee the honour of the month, and would snatch it from thee, Venus. For they say that April was named from the open (*apertum*) season, because spring then opens (*aperit*) all things, and the sharp frost-bound cold ⁵ departs, and earth unlocks her teeming soil, though kindly Venus claims the month and lays her hand on it. She indeed sways, and well deserves to sway, the world entire; she owns a kingdom second to that of no god; she gives laws to heaven and earth and to her native sea, and by her ¹⁰ inspiration she keeps every species in being. She created all the gods—'twere long to number them; she bestowed on seeds and trees their origins. She drew rude-minded men together and taught them to pair each with his mate. What but bland pleasure brings into being the whole brood of ¹⁵ birds? Cattle, too, would not come together, were loose love wanting. The savage ram butts at the wether, but would not hurt the forehead of the ewe he loves. The bull, whom all the woodland pastures, all the groves do dread, puts off his fierceness and follows the heifer. The same force pre- ²⁰ serves all living things under the broad bosom of the deep, and fills the waters with unnumbered fish. That force first stripped man of his savage garb; from it he learned decent attire and personal cleanliness. A lover was the first, they say, to serenade by night the mistress who denied ²⁵ him entrance, while he sang at her barred door, and to win the heart of a coy maid was eloquence indeed; every man then pleaded his own cause. This goddess has been the mother of a thousand arts; the wish to please has given birth to many inventions that were unknown before. ³⁰ And shall any man dare rob this goddess of the honour of giving her name to the second month? Far from me

104. toti *AUX²Mm¹*: totus *DA¹m¹U⁵*. 105. vis *UDX¹Mm¹*: vix *A¹*.
 107. homini *AUDM¹*: hominis *X²m²*: hominum *m¹*.
 • 108. mundaque *AUX¹Mm¹*: multaue *DX²m²*. sui *X¹m²U⁵*: solo *AUDX²Mm¹*.
 109. vigilatum *ADX¹Mm¹*: modulatum *Um¹*.
 110. concinuisse *A²UDM¹*: continuisse *A¹X¹m²*: continuasse *X²U⁵*.
 111. duram *AU²DM¹*: durum *U¹*: dulcem *Xm²*.
 113. motae *UDX¹m¹*: notae *AX²m²*. With motae compare Fasti, i. 268.
 114. ferunt *A²UDX¹Mm¹*: fuerunt *A¹*.
 115. secundi *A²UDM¹*: secundo *A¹Xm¹*.
 116. furor iste procul *AUm*: furor ille procul *X*: procul iste furor *DM*.

- quid, quod ubique potens templisque frequentibus aucta,
 urbe tamen nostra ius dea maius habet ?
 pro Troia, Romane, tua Venus arma ferebat,
 120 cum genuit teneram cuspide laesa manum :
 caelestesque duas Troiano iudice vicit
 (a ! nolim victas hoc meminisse deas !),
 Assaracique nurus dicta est, ut scilicet olim
 magnus Iuleos Caesar haberet avos.
 125 nec Veneri tempus quam ver erat aptius ullum :
 verc nitent terrae, vere remissus ager,
 nunc herbae rupta tellure cacumina tollunt,
 nunc tumido gemmas cortice palmes agit.
 et formosa Venus formoso tempore digna est,
 130 utque solet, Marti continuata suo est :
 vere monet curvas materna per aquora puppes
 ire nec hibernas iam timuisse minas.

- Rite deam colitis Latiae matresque nurusque
 et vos, quis vittae longaque vestis abest.
 135 aurea marmoreo redimicula demite collo,
 demite divitias : tota lavanda dea est.
 aurea siccato redimicula reddite collo :
 nunc alii flores, nunc nova danda rosa est.
 vos quoque sub viridi myrto iubet ipsa lavari :
 140 causaque, cur iubeat (discite !), certa subest.
 litore siccatbat rorantes nuda capillos :
 viderunt satyri, turba proterva, deam.
 sensit et opposita texit sua corpora myrto :
 tuta fuit facto vosque referre iubet.

117. quid quod ubique potens *AUDXM* : quicquid ubique potest *m*.

122. a *U* : ah *D²m* : ha *AXM* : ac *D¹*. victas hoc meminisse
AUDMm¹ : dictas hoc meruisse *X¹* : victas nunc meminisse *X²*.

123. olim *A²UDXMm* : illud *A¹*.

125. nec *A²UDXMm* : nunc *A¹*. erat *AUDXMm²* : est *m¹*.

130. suo est *AUDXMm* : viro est *one S* : est omitted in some *S*.

132. timuisse *AUDXMm* : meminisse a few *S*.

133. colitis latiae *AMm²* : latiae colitis *UDXm¹*.

134. abest *AUDMm¹* : adest *Xm²S*.

135. demite *A²UX²m²* : dimite *A¹* : solvite *DX¹Mm¹*.

136, 137. These two lines are omitted in *A*; in *U* they are added by a later hand at the foot of the page. In *X* lines 136, 137, 138 occur in the order 138, 137, 136 in the original hand, but lines 136, 137 are crossed out.

be such a frenzy. Besides, while everywhere the goddess is powerful and her temples are thronged with worshippers, she possesses yet more authority in our city. Venus, O Roman, bore arms for thy Troy, what time she groaned at the spear wound in her dainty hand; and by a Trojan's 5 verdict she defeated two heavenly goddesses. Ah would that they had not remembered their defeat! And she was called the bride of Assaracus' son, in order, to be sure, that in time to come great Caesar might count the Julian line among his sires. And no season was more fitting for Venus 10 than spring. In spring the landscape glistens; soft is the soil in spring; now the corn pushes its blades through the cleft ground; now the vine-shoot protrudes its buds in the swelling bark. Lovely Venus deserves the lovely season and is attached, as usual, to her dear Mars: in spring she bids 15 the curved ships fare across her natal seas and fear no more the threats of winter.

KAL. APR. 1st.

Duly do ye worship the goddess, ye Latin mothers and brides, and ye, too, who wear not the fillets and long robe. Take off the golden necklaces from the marble neck of the 20 goddess; take off her gauds; the goddess must be washed from top to toe. Then dry her neck and restore to it her golden necklaces; now give her other flowers, now give her the fresh-blown rose. Ye, too, she herself bids bathe under the green myrtle, and there is a certain reason for her com- 25 mand; learn what it is. Naked, she was drying on the shore her oozy locks, when the satyrs, a wanton crew, espied the goddess. She perceived it, and screened her body by myrtle interposed: that done, she was safe, and she bids

136. *delicias* (for *divitias*) *Koch*. *lavanda two 5*: *iuvanda DXm¹*:
videnda UUm²: *luenda Ekwald-Levy*.

137. *reddite UDM¹m¹*: *demite M¹m²*: *solvite X*.

138. *alii AUx²m²*: *alti X¹m²*: *albi DM*.

139. *ipsa AUDMm¹*: *illa Xm²*.

140. *discite AUDXMm²*: *dicite m¹*.

141. *rorantes nuda UXm¹* (approved by *Heinsius*): *sudantes rore ADMm²*.

143. *corpora UDXM²m*: *tempora AM¹*.

144. *iubet AUDXMm¹*: *libet m²*.

- 145 discite nunc, quare Fortunae tura Virili
 detis eo, calida qui locus umet aqua.
 accipit ille locus posito velamine cunctas
 et vitium nudi corporis omne videt ;
 ut tegat hoc celetque viros, Fortuna Virilis
 150 praestat et hoc parvo ture rogata facit.
 nec pigeat tritum niveo cum lacte papaver
 sumere et expressis mella liquata favis ;
 cum primum cupido Venus est deducta marito,
 hoc bibit : ex illo tempore nupta fuit.
 155 supplicibus verbis illam placate : sub illa
 et forma et mores et bona fama manet.
 Roma pudicitia proavorum tempore lapsa est :
 Cymaeam, veteres, consuluistis anum.
 templa iubet fieri Veneri, quibus ordine factis
 160 inde Venus verso nomina corde tenet
 semper ad Aeneadas placido, pulcherrima, voltu
 respice totque tuas, diva, tuere nurus.
 dum loquor, elatae metuendus acumine caudae
 Scorpis in viridis praecipitatur aquas.
- 165 Nox ubi transierit, caelumque rubescere primo
 coeperit, et tactae rore quereantur aves,
 semiustamque facem vigilata nocte viator
 ponet, et ad solitum rusticus ibit opus,
 Pleiades incipient humeros relevare paternos,
 170 quae septem dici, sex tamen esse solent :
 seu quod in amplexum sex hinc venere deorum,
 (nam Steropen Marti concubuisse ferunt,

145. discite *UDXMm* : dicite *A*.

146. calida *U* and more than twelve *S* : gelida *ADXMm*.

147. accipit *AUDXMm*¹ : aspicit *m*²*S*.

148. videt *AUDXMm*¹ : patet *M*²*CS*.

151. tritum *A*²*UDXMm* : triticum *A*¹.

152. sumere et *UDXMm* : sumeret *A*.

154. hoc *AUDXMm*² : haec *M*¹. nupta *AUDX*²*m*¹ : nuda *X*¹*m*².

155. supplicibus verbis illam *AUMm* : supplicibus votis illam *X*¹ : illam supplicibus verbis *D*. illa *ADXMm* : ipsa *U*.

156. fama *UDXMm* : forma *A*.

158. anum *AUDXMm*² : humum *m*¹.

159. fieri veneri *UD* : veneri fieri *XMm*. In *A* veneri is omitted.

160. nomine corda *UXMm* : numine corda *AD*. I find no MS. cited for the vulgate nomina corde, which is clearly right. See the Commentary.

you do the same. Learn now why ye give incense to Virile Fortune in the place which reeks of warm water. All women strip when they enter that place, and every blemish on the naked body is plain to see; Virile Fortune undertakes to conceal the blemish and to hide it from the men, and this she does for the consideration of a little incense. Nor grudge to take poppy pounded with snowy milk and liquid honey squeezed from the comb; when Venus was first escorted to her eager spouse, she drank that draught: from that time she was a bride. Propitiate her with supplications; beauty and virtue and good fame are in her keeping. In the time of our forefathers Rome had fallen from a state of chastity, and the ancients consulted the old woman of Cumae. She ordered a temple to be built to Venus, and when that was duly done, Venus took the name of Changer of the Heart (*Verticordia*) from the event. Fairest of goddesses, ever behold the sons of Aeneas with look benign, and guard thine offspring's numerous wives.

While I speak, the Scorpion, the tip of whose swinged tail strikes fear, plunges into the green waters.

IV. NON. 2nd.

When the night has passed, and the sky has just begun to blush, and dew-besprinkled birds are twittering plaintively, and the wayfarer, who all night long has waked, lays down his half-burnt torch, and the swain goes forth to his accustomed toil, the Pleiades will commence to lighten the burden that rests on their father's shoulders; seven are they usually called, but six they usually are; whether it be that six of the sisters were embraced by gods (for they say that Sterope lay

163. dum *AUXMm* · cum *D*.

164. scorpio *A*¹: scorpius *A*¹(in margin)*UDXMm*. Compare Fasti, iii. 712.

165. nox *AUDXMm*¹: mox *m*¹.

166. tactae *AUDXMm*: tectae *M*¹.

167. semiustamque *UXMm*: semustamque *ADX*¹.

168. solitum *UDXMm*: solidum *A*.

169. incipient *AUMm*: incipiunt *ADX*.

171. seu *DXMm*¹: sed *A*: heu *m*¹.

172. steropen *AUDXMm*: steropem *S*.

Neptuno Alcyonen et te, formosa Celaeno,
 Maian et Electram Taygetemque Iovi),
 175 septima mortali Merope tibi, Sisyphæ, nupsit ;
 paenitet, et facti sola pudore latet :
 sive quod Electra Troiae spectare ruinas
 non tulit, ante oculos opposuitque manum.

Ter sine perpetuo caelum versetur in axe,
 180 ter iungat Titan terque resolvat equos,
 protinus inflexo Berecynthia tibia cornu
 flabit, et Idaeae festa parentis crunt.
 ibunt semimares et inania tympana tudent,
 aeraque tinnitus aere repulsa dabunt :
 185 ipsa sedens molli comitum cervice feretur
 urbis per medias exululata vias.
 scaena sonat, ludique vocant. spectate, Quirites,
 et fora Marte suo litigiosa vacent.
 quaerere multa libet, sed me sonus aeris acuti
 190 terret et horrendo lotos adunca sono.
 "da, dea, quem sciter." doctas Cybeleia neptes
 vidit et has curae iussit adesse meae.
 "pandite, mandati memores, Heliconis alumnae,
 gaudeat assiduo cur dea Magna sono."
 195 sic ego. sic Erato (mensis Cythereius illi
 cessit, quod teneri nomen amoris habet) :
 "reddita Saturno sors haec erat, 'optime regum,
 a nato sceptris excutiere tuis.'
 ille suam metuens, ut quaeque erat edita, prolem
 200 devorat, immersam visceribusque tenet.
 saepe Rhea quæsta est, totiens fecunda nec unquam
 mater, et indoluit fertilitate sua.

173. alcyonen *X* : alcyonem *m* : alcionem *A* : alcinoen *UD* : halcyonem *M*.

174. maian *DXMm* : maian *AU*. electram *AUDXMm* : electram *a few* *S*. taygetemque *M* : taygetenque *m* : taigetemque *A* : taygetanque *U* : tagietamque *D* : taigetamque *X*.

177. ruinas *AUDMm*¹ : ruinam *Xm*².

179. ter *AUDXm* : et *M*.

180. resolvat *AUXMm* : resolvit *D*.

182. flabit *ADXMm*² : flavit *m*¹ : flevit *U*.

183. tudent *AUDX²Mm*¹ : tendunt *X¹m*².

184. tinnitus *AUDX²Mm* : tonnitus *X²*.

187. spectate *ADXM²m*¹ : spectare *M¹m*².

188. vacent *AUDM¹m*¹ : vacant *XM²m*².

with Mars, Alcyone and fair Celaeno with Neptune, and Maia, Electra, and Taygete with Jupiter); the seventh, Merope, was married to a mortal man, to Sisyphus, and she repents of it, and from shame at the deed she alone of the sisters hides herself; or whether it be that Electra could not 5 brook to behold the fall of Troy, and so covered her eyes with her hand.

PR. NON. 4th.

Let the sky revolve thrice on its never-resting axis; let Titan thrice yoke and thrice unyoke his steeds, straightway the Berecyntian flute will blow a blast on its bent horn, and the 10 festival of the Idaean Mother will have come. Eunuchs will march and thump their hollow drums, and cymbals clashed on cymbals will give out their tinkling notes: seated on the unmanly necks of her attendants, the goddess herself will be borne with howls through the streets in the city's 15 midst. The stage is clattering, the games are calling. To your places, Quirites! and in the empty law-courts let the war of suitors cease! I would put many questions, but I am daunted by the shrill cymbal's clash and the bent flute's thrilling drone. "Grant me, goddess, someone whom I may 20 question." The Cybelean goddess spied her learned grand-daughters and bade them attend to my inquiry. "Mindful of her command, ye nurslings of Helicon, disclose the reason why the Great Goddess delights in a perpetual din." So did I speak, and Erato did thus reply (it fell to her to speak of 25 Venus' month, because her own name is derived from tender love): "Saturn was given this oracle: 'Thou best of kings, thou shalt be ousted of thy sceptre by thy son.' In fear. the god devoured his offspring as fast as they were born, and he kept them sunk in his bowels. Many a time did 30 Rhea grumble, to be so often big with child, yet never be a mother; she repined at her own fruitfulness. Then Jove

191. quem sciter *three MSS. referred to by Heinsius*: quem scitent *m*¹: quae scitor *DA*: quam scite *AUMBC* and many *S*: quas scitor *m*²: quas sciter *Heinsius* on the authority of one *MS.* ("unus Patavinus ex melioribus").

192. vidit *AUDXMM*: audit a few *S*.

196. quod *AUDXMM*: quae *M*².

199. prolem *ADXMM*: proles *U* and four *S*.

200. immersam *UDM*¹*m*¹: immersum *Xm*²: immensam *AM*².

201. nec *UDMM*¹: neque *AXm*².

- Iuppiter ortus erat (pro magno teste vetustas
 creditur ; acceptam parce movere fidem) :
 205 veste latens saxum caelesti gutture sedit :
 sic genitor fatis decipiendus erat.
 ardua iamdudum resonat tinnitibus Ide,
 tutus ut infanti vagiat ore puer.
 pars clipeos rudibus, galeas pars tundit inanes :
 210 hoc Curetes habent, hoc Corybantes opus.
 res latuit, priscique manent imitamina facti ;
 aera deae comites raucaque terga movent.
 cymbala pro galeis, pro scutis tympana pulsant ;
 tibia dat Phrygios, ut dedit ante, modos."
 215 desierat. coepi : " cur huic genus acre leonum
 praebent insolitas ad iuga curva iubas ? "
 desieram. coepit : " feritas mollita per illam
 creditur ; id curru testificata suo est."
 " at cur turrisfera caput est onerata corona ?
 220 an primis turres urbibus illa dedit ? "
 annuit. " unde venit " dixi " sua membra secandi
 impetus ? " ut tacui, Pieris orsa loqui :
 " Phryx puer in silvis, facie spectabilis, Attis
 turrigeram casto vinxit amore deam.
 225 hunc sibi servari voluit, sua templa tueri,
 et dixit ' semper fac puer esse velis.'
 ille fidem iussis dedit et ' si mentiar,' inquit
 ' ultima, qua fallam, sit Venus illa mihi.'

203. magno *AUDXm* : magna one 5. *The masculine magno is supported by Ovid, Ex Ponto, iii. 9. 49 sq. " Musa mea . . . incorrupti pondera testis habet."*

205. gutture *UDMm*¹ : gutture *A* : viscere *Xm*².

207. ide *AUD* : ida *Mm*¹ : idae *XMm*².

209. rudibus *Xm*¹ : sudibus *Lactantius*, *Divin. Inst. i. 21* (*quoting the present passage of Ovid*) : manibus *AUDXmMBC* and many 5 : tudibus *Lobeck* (*Aglaophamus, p. 1125*). Compare *H. Peter, Disputatio Critica, p. 15 ; Fr. Krüger, De Ovidi Fastis recensendis, pp. 14 sq. (who prefers sudibus)*. tundit *ADXMm* : pulsat *U*.

211. priscique manent *UXBC Lactantius* (*Divin. Inst. i. 21, quoting the present passage of Ovid*) : patrem priscique *ADMM*. Compare *Fr. Krüger, op. cit. pp. 15 sq.*

214. modos *ADXMm*¹ : sonos *Um*².

215. leonum *A(?)DXMm*¹ : leones *Um*².

216. praebent *AUXm*¹ : praebeat *DXmMm*². iubas *UXMm*¹ : iubes *A* : comas *Dm*².

219. turrisfera *AUDX* : turrisfera *M* : thurifera *m*. onerata *UDXMm* : honorata *A*¹ : honorata *A*² : ornata 5.

was born. The testimony of antiquity passes for good ; pray do not shake the general faith. A stone concealed in a garment went down his heavenly throat ; so had fate decreed that the sire should be beguiled. Now rang steep Ida loud and long with clangorous music, that the boy 5 might pule in safety with his infant mouth. Some beat their shields, others their empty helmets with staves ; that was the task of the Curetes and that, too, of the Corybantes. The secret was kept, and the ancient deed is still acted in mimicry ; the attendants of the goddess thump the brass 10 and the rumbling leather ; cymbals they strike instead of helmets, and drums instead of shields ; the flute plays, as of yore, the Phrygian airs."

The goddess ended. I began : " Why for her sake doth the fierce breed of lions yield their unwonted manes to the 15 curved yoke ? " I ended. She began : " 'Tis thought, the wildness of the brute was tamed by her : that she testifies by her (lion-drawn) car." " But why is her head weighted with a turreted crown ? Is it because she gave towers to the first cities ? " The goddess nodded assent. 20 " Whence came," said I, " the impulse to cut their members ? " When I was silent, the Pierian goddess began to speak : " In the woods a Phrygian boy of handsome face, Attis by name, had attached the tower-bearing goddess to himself by a chaste passion. She wished that he should 25 be kept for herself and should guard her temple, and she said, ' Resolve to be a boy for ever.' He promised obedience, and, ' If I lie,' quoth he, ' may the love for which I break faith be my last love of all.' He broke

220. primis *ADXMm*¹ : phrygiis *U* : primas *m*². illa *AUDXm* : ipsa *M*.

221. annuit *AUDXMm* : adnuit *Burman, Peter⁴, Ehwald-Levy*.

222. loqui *AUDXm* : loqui est *M*.

223. attis *UXm*² : aptis *A* : altis *DM*.

224. turrigeram *AUDXMm*² : thurigeram *m*¹. vinxit *AUDXm*² : iunxit *Mm*¹(?). In some MSS. iunxit and vinxit (vinxit), written without dots over the i, are hardly distinguishable ; similarly with iuncta and vincta (vincta).

225. servari voluit *AUDXm* : servari et voluit *M*.

227. ille *AUXMm* : illa *D*. mentiar *AUX²Mm* : mentior *X¹* : mencior *D*.

228. qua *AUDXMm*¹ : quam *m*² and a few *s* (preferred by *Heinsius*).

- fallit et in nympha Sagaritide desinit esse
 230 quod fuit : hinc poenas exigit ira deae.
 Naida vulneribus succidit in arbore factis,
 illa perit : fatum Naidos arbor erat.
 hic furit et credens thalami procumbere tectum
 effugit et cursu Dindyma summa petit
 235 et modo 'tolle faces!' 'remove' modo 'verbera!' clamat ;
 saepe Palaestinas iurat adesse deas.
 ille etiam saxo corpus laniavit acuto,
 longaque in immundo pulvere tracta coma est,
 voxque fuit 'merui ! meritas do sanguine poenas.
 240 a ! pereant partes, quae nocuere mihi !
 a ! pereant ' dicebat adhuc, onus inguinis aufert,
 nullaue sunt subito signa relicta viri.
 venit in exemplum furor hic, mollesque ministri
 caedunt iactatis vilia membra comis."
 245 talibus Aoniae facunda voce Camenae
 reddita quaesiti causa furoris erat.
 " hoc quoque, dux operis, moneas, precor, unde petita
 venerit. an nostra semper in urbe fuit ? "
 " Dindymon et Cybelen et amoenam fontibus Iden
 250 semper et Iliacas Mater amavit opes :
 cum Troiam Aeneas Italos portaret in agros,
 est dea sacriferas paene secuta rates,
 sed nondum fatis Latio sua numina posci
 senserat, adsuetis substiteratque locis.
 255 post, ut Roma potens opibus iam saecula quinque
 vidit et edomito sustulit orbe caput,

229. sagaritide *AUDXM²m¹* : sagaride *M¹* : sangaride *m²*.

230. hinc *ADXMm* : huic *U⁵*.

231. naida *AUDXM* : nayda *m¹* : naiada *m²* : nanida *Unger*.

232. naidos *AM* : naydos *U* : naiados *D* : naidis *X* : naydis *m¹* : nanidos *Unger*.

233. tectum *AUDX¹Mm¹* : tignum *m²* : tignam *X²*.

234. dindyma *m* : dindima *AX* : dyndima *UM* : dindama *D*.

236. palaestinas *Mm* : palestinas *AUXD* : Meletinas *Merkel³* : palam visas *Schwenk* : palam stygias *Roeper, Riese* : palam trinas *Madvig* (*Adversaria* ii. 107) : palamnacas *Hoffmann*.

237. ille *UDXMm* : illa *A*. laniavit *AUDXMm¹* : laceravit *m²*.

239. merui *AUDXM¹m* : metui *M²*.

240. a *AU* : ha *Dm¹* : ah *XM*.

241. a *AU* : ha *Dm¹* : ah *XM*.

243. hic *ADXMm* : hinc *U*.

244. vilia *AUDXM²m* : mollia *M²*.

faith ; for, meeting the nymph Sagaritis, he ceased to be what he had been before. For that the angry goddess wreaked vengeance. By wounds inflicted on the tree she cut down the Naiad, who perished thus ; for the fate of the Naiad was bound up with the tree. Attis went mad, and, ⁵ imagining that the roof of the chamber was falling in, he fled and ran for the top of Mount Dindymus. And he kept crying, at one moment, 'Take away the torches !' at another, 'Remove the whips !' And oft he swore that the Palaestinian goddesses were on him. He mangled, ¹⁰ too, his body with a sharp stone, and trailed his long hair in the filthy dust ; and his cry was, 'I have deserved it ! With my blood I pay the penalty that is my due. Ah, perish the parts that were my ruin ! Ah, let them perish,' still he said. He retrenched the burden of his groin, and ¹⁵ of a sudden was bereft of every sign of manhood. His madness set an example, and still his unmanly ministers cut their vile members while they toss their hair." In such words the Aonian Muse eloquently answered my question as to the cause of the madness of the votaries. 20

"Instruct me, too, I pray, my guide, whence was she fetched, whence came ? Was she always in our city ?" "The Mother Goddess ever loved Dindymus, and Cybele, and Ida, with its delightful springs, and the realm of Ilium. When Aeneas carried Troy to the Italian fields, ²⁵ the goddess almost followed the ships that bore the sacred things ; but she felt that fate did not yet call for the intervention of her divinity in Latium, and she remained behind in her accustomed place. Afterwards, when mighty Rome had already seen five centuries, and had lifted up her ³⁰ head above the conquered world, the priest consulted the

247. moneas *UDX¹Mm* : moneat *A*. petita *A¹UXDMm* : quacsita *A¹*.

248. an *UXMm* : ad *A*. semper *AUD¹XMm* : causa *D¹*.

249. dindymon *AUXMm¹* : dindonon *D*. cybelen *AUXM* : cybellen *m* : cibelon *D*. idem *AUDXm* : idem *M¹* : idam *M¹*.

251. portaret *AUMm* : portavit *DX*.

253. numina *UDXMm* : nomine *A*.

254. substiteratque *UXMm* : subsisteratque *A* : constiteratque *D* and many *S*.

255. ut *ADX¹Mm¹* : ubi *Um¹*.

256. et edomito *AUDX* : et e domito *Mm*.

- carminis Euboici fatalia verba sacerdos
 inspicit ; inspectum tale fuisse ferunt :
 ' mater abest : matrem iubeo, Romane, requiras.
 260 cum veniet, casta est accipienda manu.'
 obscurae sortis patres ambagibus errant,
 quaeve parens absit, quove petenda loco.
 consulitur Paeon, ' divum ' que ' arcessite Matrem,'
 inquit ' in Idaco est invenienda iugo.'
 265 mittuntur proceres. Phrygiae tunc sceptrum tenebat
 Attalus : Ausoniis rem negat ille viris.
 mira canam. longo tremuit cum murmure tellus,
 et sic est adytis diva locuta suis :
 ' ipsa peti volui, nec sit mora, mitte volentem.
 270 dignus Roma locus, quo deus omnis eat.'
 ille soni terrore pavens ' proficiscere,' dixit
 ' nostra eris : in Phrygios Roma refertur avos.'
 protinus innumerae caedunt pineta secures
 illa, quibus fugiens Phryx pius usus erat :
 275 mille manus coeunt, et picta coloribus ustis
 caelestum Matrem concava puppis habet.
 illa sui per aquas fertur tutissima nati
 longaque Phrixiae stagna sororis adit
 Rhoeteumque rapax Sigeaque litora transit
 280 et Tenedum et veteres Ectionis opes.
 Cyclades excipiunt, Lesbo post terga relicta,
 quaeque Carysteis frangitur unda vadis.
 transit et Icarium, lapsas ubi perdidit alas
 Icarus et vastae nomina fecit aquae.
 285 tum laeva Creten, dextra Pelopeidas undas
 deserit et Veneris sacra Cythera petit.

258. ferunt *AUXMm*¹ : refert *Dm*².

261. obscurae *UDXMm* : obscure *A*.

263. arcessite *AS* : accersite *UDXMm*⁵.

265. tunc *ADMm*³ : tum *UXm*¹.

267, 268. *In A these two verses are wrongly placed after 286.*

269. nec sit *UDXMm* and most *MSS.* : nescit *A* : ne sit a few *S*.

270. quo *UDXMm* : quae *A*.

271. soni *A²UDXM* : sonni *m* : sono *A*¹.

274. pius *ADXMm* : prius *U*⁵ : puer *C*⁵.

275. ustis *AUD²XMm* : astis *D*³.

276. caelestum *AUDXM*¹ : caelestem *Mm*².

277. sui per aquas *DXMm* : super aquas *A²U*¹ : super meritum *A*¹ : super
 fluctus *U*³, tutissima *AUDMm*³ : tustissima *X* : iustissima *m*¹.

fateful words of the Euboean song. They say that what he found ran thus: 'The Mother is absent; thou Roman, I bid thee seek the Mother. When she shall come, she must be received by chaste hands.' The ambiguity of the dark oracle puzzled the senators to know who the Parent 5 was, and where she was to be sought. Pacan was consulted and said, 'Fetch the Mother of the Gods; she is to be found on Mount Ida.' Nobles were sent. The sceptre of Phrygia was then held by Attalus; he refused the favour to the Ausonian lords. Wonders to tell, the earth trembled 10 and rumbled long, and in her shrine thus did the goddess speak: 'Twas my own will that they should send for me. Tarry not: let me go, it is my wish. Rome is a place meet to be the resort of every god.' Quaking with terror at the words Attalus said, 'Go forth. Thou wilt still be ours. 15 Rome traces its origin to Phrygian ancestors.' Straightway unnumbered axes fell those pinewoods which had supplied the pious Phrygian with timber in his flight: a thousand hands assemble, and the Mother of the Gods is lodged in a hollow ship painted in encaustic colours. She is borne in 20 perfect safety across the waters of her son and comes to the long strait named after the sister of Phrixus; she passes Rhoeceum, where the tide runs fast, and the Sigeian shores, and Tenedos, and Eetion's ancient realm. Leaving Lesbos behind, she came next to the Cyclades and to the 25 wave that breaks on the Carystian shoals. She passed the Icarian Sea also, where Icarus lost his wings that slipped, and where he gave his name to a great water. Then she left Crete on the larboard and the Pelopian billows on the starboard, and steered for Cythera, the sacred isle of Venus. Thence 30

279. rapax a few 5 (approved by Heinsius): capax AUDXMm. There is a similar diversity of readings in line 566 of this book.

280. tenedum et veteres AUDXMm² (corrected): tenedon et m¹(?) 5: tenedon veteres B5: et theben veteres Heinsius. Compare Ovid, Metamorph. xii. 109 sq. "Cum Tenedonque suoque | Eetioneas implevi sanguine Thebas." See the Commentary. The name Eetionis is variously corrupted in the MSS. as eticionis XM¹: ethicionis D: ethycionis M: et ioves A: pygmalionis m.

282. quaeque A5: quaque UDXMm. caristeis DX²: charisteis A: charistaeis U: cerasteis X¹: caystraeis M.

283. icarium UD: icareum XMm: icarion A. lapsas AUDM²m: lassas XM¹.

285. tum UDXMm: tunc ABC5.

- hinc mare Trinacrium, candens ubi tingere ferrum
 Brontes et Steropes Acmonidesque solent,
 aequoraque Afra legit Sardoaque regna sinistris
 290 respicit a remis Ausoniamque tenet.
 Ostia contigerat, qua se Tiberinus in altum
 dividit et campo liberiore nataat :
 omnis eques mixtaque gravis cum plebe senatus
 obvius ad Tusci fluminis ora venit.
 295 procedunt pariter matres nataeque nurusque
 quaeque colunt sanctos virginitate focos.
 sedula fune viri contento brachia lassant :
 vix subit adversas hospita navis aquas.
 sicca diu fuerat tellus, sitis usserat herbas :
 300 sedit limoso pressa carina vado.
 quisquis adest operi, plus quam pro parte laborat,
 adiuvat et fortis vocc sonante manus.
 illa velut medio stabilis sedet insula ponto ·
 attoniti monstro stantque paventque viri.
 305 Claudia Quinta genus Clauso referebat ab alto,
 nec facies impar nobilitate fuit :
 casta quidem, sed non et credita : rumor iniquus
 laeserat, et falsi criminis acta rea est ;
 cultus et ornatis varie prodisse capillis
 310 obfuit, ad rigidos promptaque lingua senes.
 conscia mens recti famae mendacia risit,
 sed nos in vitium credula turba sumus.
 haec ubi castarum processit ab agmine matrum
 et manibus puram fluminis hausit aquam,
 315 ter caput inrorat, ter tollit in aethera palmas
 (quicumque aspiciunt, mente carere putant)

287. tingere *AUX* : tingere *m* : fingere *two or three S*.

288. acmonidesque *AUDm¹* : agmonidesque *AMm²BC*. solent
UDXm : sonant *A*.

289. afra *AUMm¹* : affra *X²* : arta *X¹m²* : astra *D*. legit *UXMm* :
 legis *A*.

290. respicit *AUDXm* : prospicit *a few S*. a remis *AU²DXm* :
 harenis *U¹*. tenet *AUDMm²* : tenent *Xm¹*.

291. ostia *AUX* : hostia *DM*.

295. nataeque *D* and *a few S* : natiue *AUXm*. nurusque *U* and
two S : virique *ADXm*. The reading of most MSS. seems to be natiue
 virique ; but as the poet had spoken of men (knights, senators, and the people)
 in lines 293, 294, it is natural that he should notice only women in lines 295, 296.

she passed to the Trinacrian Sea, where Brontes and Steropes and Acmonides are wont to dip the white-hot iron. She skirted the African main, and beheld astern to larboard the Sardinian realms, and made Ausonia.

"She had arrived at Ostia, where the Tiber divides to 5 join the sea and flows with ampler sweep. All the knights and the grave senators, mixed up with the common folk, came to meet her at the mouth of the Tuscan river. With them walked mothers and daughters and brides, and the virgins who tended the sacred hearths. The men wearied 10 their arms by tugging lustily at the rope; hardly did the foreign ship make head against the stream. A drought had long prevailed; the grass was parched and burnt; the loaded bark sank in the muddy shallows. Every man who lent a hand toiled beyond his strength and cheered on the workers 15 by his cries. Yet the ship stuck fast, like an island firmly fixed in the middle of the sea. Astonished at the portent, the men did stand and quake. Claudia Quinta traced her descent from Clausus of old, and her beauty matched her nobility. Chaste was she, though not reputed so. Rumour 20 unkind had wronged her, and a false charge had been trumped up against her: it told against her that she dressed sprucely, that she walked abroad with her hair dressed in varied fashion, that she had a ready tongue for gruff old men. Conscious of innocence, she laughed at fame's un- 25 truths; but we of the multitude are prone to think the worst. When she had stepped forth from the procession of the chaste matrons, and taken up the pure water of the river in her hands, she thrice let it drip on her head, and thrice lifted her palms to heaven (all who looked on her thought that she 30

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297. sedula *AUDXm*²: sed sua *m*¹. contento *UXMm*: contentos
A: contracto *D*.
 298. adversas . . . aquas *AUDX²Mm*¹: adversis . . . aquis *X¹m*².
 299. usserat *AUDXm*: userat *M*. 301. operi *UDXm*: operis *A*.
 303. medio *UDXm*: media *A*. sedet *AUDMm*¹: manet *Xm*².
 304. monstro *AUDXm*: nostro *M*. 305. clauso *AUMm*¹: lauso *DXm*².
 306. fuit *UDXm*: fui *A*. 307. et *AUDXm*²: est *Mm*¹.
 309. ornatis *Dm*²: ornatus *AUXMm*¹. varie *DXMm*: variae *A*:
 variis *U*. capillis *UDXm*: capillos *AM*.
 310. obfuit *DXMm*: offuit *AU*. senes *AUDXmBC5*: sonos 5.
 311. recti *AUDMm*²: veri *Xm*¹. risit *ADXMm*¹: ridet *Um*².
 313. ab agmine *ADXMm*: ad agmina *U*.
 315. in *AUDm*²: ad *XMm*¹.

- summissoque genu voltus in imagine divae
 figit et hos edit crine iacente sonos :
 'supplicis, alma, tuae, genetrix fecunda deorum,
 320 accipe sub certa condicione preces.
 casta negor. si tu damnas, meruisse fatebor ;
 morte luam poenas iudice victa dea.
 sed si crimen abest, tu nostrae pignora vitae
 re dabis et castas casta sequere manus.'
 325 dixit et exiguo funem conamine traxit
 (mirā, sed et scaena testificata loquar) :
 mota dea est sequiturque ducem laudatque sequendo :
 index laetitiae fertur ad astra sonus.
 fluminis ad flexum veniunt (Tiberina priores
 330 atria dixerunt), unde sinister abit.
 nox aderat : querno religant in stipite funem
 dantque levi somno corpora functa cibo.
 lux aderat : querno solvunt a stipite funem ;
 ante tamen posito tura dedere foco,
 335 ante coronarunt puppem et sine labe iuvencae
 mactarunt operum coniugiique rudem.
 est locus, in Tiberim qua lubricus influit Almo
 et nomen magno perdit in amne minor :
 illic purpurea canus cum veste sacerdos
 340 Almonis dominam sacraque lavit aquis.
 exululant comites, furiosaque tibia flatur,
 et feriunt molles taurea terga manus.
 Claudia praecedit laeto celeberrima voltu,
 credita vix tandem teste pudica dea ;
 345 ipsa sedens plaustro porta est invecta Capena :
 sparguntur iunctae flore recente boves.

317. summissoque *AUDXMm* : submissoque *Burman, Gierig, Palry, Ehwald-Levy*.

318. figit *AUDXMm*¹ : fixit *m*².

321. si tu damnas *UXMm* : si tu dampnas *D* : si tua dannā *A*.

323. sed si *AUXMm* : si mihi *D*.

324. re dabis *AXMm*¹ : reddas *UDm*² : reddes *m*².

326. et scena *AUXm*¹ : in scena *DMm*² : eventu *Riesc.* loquar *AUXM*¹ : loquor *DMm*².

328. fertur *AUDXMm*¹ : venit *m*². ad *ADXMm* : in *U*.

330. atria *ADXMm*¹ : ostia *Um*² *5*.

331. in *AUDXMm*¹ : a *m*¹ *BC5*.

335. coronarunt *AUDXMm* : coronatam a few *5*. puppem *AUDM*.
 puppim *Xm*. et sine *UXMm* : sine (without et) *AD*.

was out of her mind), and bending the knee she fixed her eyes on the image of the goddess, and with dishevelled hair uttered these words: 'Thou fruitful Mother of the Gods, graciously accept thy suppliant's prayers on one condition. They say I am not chaste. If thou dost condemn me, I will confess my guilt; convicted by the verdict of a goddess, I will pay the penalty with my life. But if I am free of crime, give by thine act a proof of my innocency, and, chaste as thou art, do thou yield to my chaste hands.' She spoke, and drew the rope with a slight effort. My story is a strange one, but it is attested by the stage. The goddess was moved, and followed her leader, and by following bore witness in her favour: a sound of joy was wafted to the stars. They came to a bend in the river, where the stream turns away to the left: men of old named it the Halls of Tiber. Night drew on; they tied the rope to an oaken stump, and after a repast disposed themselves to slumber light. At dawn of day they loosed the rope from the oaken stump; but first they set down a brazier and put incense on it, and crowned the poop, and sacrificed an unblemished heifer that had known neither the yoke nor the bull. There is a place where the smooth Almo flows into the Tiber, and the lesser river loses its name in the great one. There a hoary-headed priest in purple robe washed the Mistress and her holy things in the waters of Almo. The attendants howled, the mad flute blew, and hands unmanly beat the leathern drums. Attended by a crowd, Claudia walked in front with joyful face, her chastity at last vindicated by the testimony of the goddess. The goddess herself, seated in a waggon, drove in through the Capene Gate; fresh flowers were scattered on the yoked oxen. Nasica received her. The

337. *tiberim* *AM*: *tyberim* *UD*: *tyberi* *X*: *thyberi* *m*.

338. in *AUDM²m²*: ab *XM²m²BC*.

339. *illic* *AUDM²m²*: *illuc* *Xm²*.

342. *laurea* *UDXM²m*: *aurea* *A*.

343. *praecedit* *UDXM²m*: *precedit* *A*: *procedit* *M¹*. *vultu* *A*: *vultu* *UDXM²m*: vulgo *Fr. Polle* (*comparing Orud*, *Metamorph.* vi. 165 "Comitum Niobe celeberrima turba"), *Merkel²*, *Peter²*.

346. *iunctae* *AUDXm*: *vinctae* *M* (*but see note on line 224*). *flore* *AUDXm²*: *rore* *Mm²*.

- Nasica accepit. templi non perstitit auctor :
 Augustus nunc est, ante Metellus erat."
 substituit hic Erato. mora fit ; sic cetera quaero :
 350 " dic, " inquam " parva cur stipe quaerat opes."
 " contulit aes populus, de quo delubra Metellus
 fecit," ait " dandae mos stipis inde manet."
 cur vicibus factis ineant convivia, quaero,
 tunc magis, indictas concelebrentque dapes.
 355 " quod bene mutarit sedem Berecynthia," dixit
 " captant mutatis sedibus omen idem."
 institeram, quare primi Megalesia ludi
 urbe forent nostra, cum dea (sensit enim)
 " illa deos " inquit " peperit. cessere parenti,
 360 principiumque dati Mater honoris habet."
 " cur igitur Gallos, qui se excidere, vocamus,
 cum tanto a Phrygia Gallica distet humus ? "
 " inter " ait " viridem Cybelen altisque Celaenas
 amnis it insana, nomine Gallus, aqua.
 365 qui bibit inde, furit : procul hinc discedite, quis est
 cura bonae mentis : qui bibit inde, furit."
 " non pudet herbosum " dixi " posuisse moretum
 in dominae mensis. an sua causa subest ? "
 " lacte mero veteres usu narrantur et herbis,
 370 sponte sua si quas terra ferebat " ait.
 " candidus elisae miscetur caseus herbae,
 cognoscat priscos ut dea prisca cibos."

Postera cum caelo motis Pallantias astris
 fulserit, et niveos Luna levarit equos,

347. accepit A^2UDXM^2m : accipit A^1 : suscepit M^1 . non AUM^1m^1 : tunc DXM^2m^2 : nam two 5. perstitit UM^1m^1 : sperstitit A : extitit DXM^2m^1 . The reading tunc extitit, which is found in D and the margins of Mm, was preferred by Heinsius and adopted by Burman and Gierig. If we accept this reading, it will follow that according to Ovid the same Publius Cornelius Scipio Nasica, who was specially chosen to receive the goddess on her arrival at Ostia, had also the honour of founding her temple, which would be perfectly natural and appropriate.

349. hic $AUDXMm$: hinc A . sic DX^2Mm^2 : si AU^1m^1 : dum U^2 . quaero AU^2DXMm^2 : quaeram Um^1 .

353. factis $UDXMm$: fructis A . ineant $AUDXMm^1$: ineunt m^2 . quaero UXm : quaedam AMC^5 .

354. tunc $ADMm^2$: tum UXm^1 . indictas $UDXM$: indicta A : invictas m . concelebrentque AUM^2m : concelebrantque DX : cur celebrentque M^2 .

name of the founder of the temple has not survived ; now it is Augustus ; formerly it was Metellus."

Here Erato stopped. There was a pause. Then I put the rest of my questions thus. "Why," said I, "does the goddess collect money in small coins?" "The people 5 contributed their coppers, with which Metellus built her fane," said she; "hence the custom of giving a small coin abides." I asked why then more than at other times people entertain each other to feasts and hold banquets for which they issue invitations. "Because," said she, "the Berecynthian 10 goddess luckily changed her home, people try to get the same good luck by going from house to house." I was about to ask why the Megalesia are the first games of the year in our city, when the goddess took my meaning and said, "She gave birth to the gods. They gave place to their 15 parent, and the Mother has the honour of precedence." "Why then do we give the name of Galli to the men who unman themselves, when the Gallic land is so far from Phrygia?" "Between," said she, "green Cybele and high Celacnae a river of mad water flows, 'tis named the Gallus. 20 Who drinks of it goes mad. Far hence depart, ye who care to be of sound mind. Who drinks of it goes mad." "They think no shame," said I, "to set a dish of herbs on the tables of the Mistress. Is there a good reason at the bottom of it?" "People of old," she answered, "are reported to 25 have subsisted on pure milk and such herbs as the earth bore of its free will. White cheese is mixed with pounded herbs, that the ancient goddess may know the ancient foods."

NON. 5th.

When the next Dawn shall have shone in the sky, and the stars have vanished, and the Moon shall have unyoked 30

355. mutarit *AUDMm*¹ : mutavit *Xm*².

357. megalesia *ADXmm* : megalensia *U*.

362. tanto a *AU* : tantum a *DXMm* : tantum phrygia *BCs* (omitting a).

363. viridem cybelen *XMm* : viridem cibelen *AD* : cybelen virides *U*¹ : cybelen viridem *U*².

367. moretum *AUDXm* : meretum *M*.

369. narrantur *AUDMm*¹ : memorantur *D¹XMm*². herbis *AUDXmm*³ : herba *m*¹.

371. elisae *X²M¹m*³ : alisae *A* : elixae *UDX²M¹m*¹. miscetur *AUDXm* : miscentur *M*.

- 375 qui dicet " quondam sacrata est colle Quirini
hac Fortuna die Publica," verus erit.

- Tertia lux (memini) ludis erat, ac mihi quidam
spectanti senior continuusque loco
" haec " ait " illa dies, Libycis qua Caesar in oris
380 perfida magnanimi contudit arma Iubac.
dux mihi Caesar erat, sub quo meruisse tribunus
gloriosior : officio praefuit ille meo.
hanc ego militia sedem, tu pace parasti,
inter bis quinos usus honore viros."
385 plura locuturi subito seducimur imbre :
pendula caelestis Libra movebat aquas.

Ante tamen, quam summa dies spectacula sistat,
ensifer Orion aequore mersus erit.

- Proxima victricem cum Romam inspexerit Eos,
390 et dederit Phocho stella fugata locum,
circus erit pompa celebr numeroque deorum,
primaque ventosis palma petetur equis.

- Hinc Cereris ludi. non est opus indice causae ;
sponte deae munus promeritumque patet.
395 panis erat primis virides mortalibus herbae,
quas tellus nullo sollicitante dabat ;
et modo carpebant vivax e cespite gramen,
nunc epulae tenera fronde cacumen erant.

375. dicet $AUXM^1$: dicit Dm^2 . colle $AUDM^2$: valle Xm^1 .
376. hac UDX^2Mm^1 : ac X^1m^2 : nanc A . verus $AUDX^2Mm^1$:
veris X^1m^2 .
377. erat UXm^1 : erit $ADMm^2$. ac AUm^2 : hac DM : at Xm^1 .
378. continuusque $AUDMm^1$: contiguusque Xm^2 .
379. qua UDX^2Mm : quae A . oris $AUMm$: horis DX .
380. magnanimi $AUDX^2Mm$: magnanimus X^1 .
381. tribunus $AUDX^2Mm^1$: tribunus X^1m^2 .
384. bis denos (for bis quinos) *Nipperdry*.
385. seducimur $D^1X^1Mm^1$: subducimur $AUD^2X^2m^2$.
386. caelestis A : caelestes UDX^2Mm .
388. ensifer $ADMm^2$ (compare *Lucan*, i. 665 " ensiferi . . . Orionis ").
ensiger $UX(corrected)m^1$ (compare *Ovid*, *Ars Amat.* ii. 56 " ensiger Orion ").
390. stella UDX^2Mm : tela A . 391. erit $AUDXm$: erat M .
393. causae X^1m^2 : causa $AUDX^2Mm^1$.

her snow-white steeds, he who shall say, "On this day of old the temple of Public Fortune was dedicated on the hill of Quirinus" will tell the truth.

VIII. ID. 6th.

It was, I remember, the third day of the games, when a certain elderly man, who sat next to me at the show, observed 5 to me, "This was the famous day when on the Libyan shores Caesar crushed proud Juba's treacherous host. Caesar was my commander; under him I am proud to have served as colonel; at his hands did I receive my commission. This seat I won in war, and thou didst win in peace, by reason 10 of thine office in the College of the Ten." We were about to say more when a sudden shower of rain parted us; the Balance hung in heaven released the heavenly waters

V. ID. 9th.

But before the last day shall have put an end to the shows, sworded Orion will have sunk in the sea. 15

IV. ID. 10th.

When the next Dawn shall have looked on victorious Rome, and the stars shall have been put to flight and given place to the sun, the Circus will be thronged with a procession and an array of the gods, and the horses, fleet as the wind, will contend for the first palm 20

PR. ID. 12th.

Next come the games of Ceres. There is no need to declare the reason; the bounty and the services of the goddess are manifest. The bread of the first mortals consisted of the green herbs which the earth yielded without solicitation; and now they plucked the living grass 25 from the turf, and now the tender leaves of tree-tops

394. patet *AUDXMM*: patent *one or two S*.

395. panis *AUDX²Mm¹*: messis *X¹m²*. erat *UDXMM¹*: erant *m²*: erit *A*.

397. vivax e cespite *ADM²*: vivax de cespite *XM¹*: vivax de caespite *m¹*: vivaci e caespite *m²*: vivaci cespite *U*.

- postmodo glans nata est : bene erat iam glande reperta,
 400 duraque magnificas quercus habebat opes.
 prima Ceres homine ad meliora alimenta vocato
 mutavit glandes utiliore cibo.
 illa iugo tauros collum praebere coegit :
 tunc primum soles cruta vidit humus.
 405 aes erat in pretio, chalybeia massa latebat :
 cheu ! perpetuo debuit illa tegi.
 pace Ceres laeta est ; et vos orate, coloni,
 perpetuam pacem pacificumque ducem.
 farra deae micaeque licet salientis honorem
 410 detis et in veteres turea grana focos,
 et, si tura aberunt, unctas accendite taedas :
 parva bonae Cereri, sint modo casta, placent.
 a bove succincti cultros removete ministri :
 hos aret ; ignavam sacrificate suem.
 415 apta iugo cervix non est ferienda securi :
 vivat et in dura saepe laboret humo.

- Exigit ipse locus, raptus ut virginis edam :
 plura recognosces, pauca docendus cris.
 terra tribus scopulis vastum procurrit in aequor
 420 Trinacris, a positu nomen adepta loci,
 grata domus Cereri. multas ea possidet urbes,
 in quibus est culto fertilis Henna solo.
 frigida caelestum matres Arethusa vocarat :
 venerat ad sacras et dea flava dapes.
 425 filia, consuetis ut erat comitata puellis,
 errabat nudo per sua prata pede.

399. glunde *UDXMM* : grande *A*.

401. homine *AUDX²MM¹* : homini *X¹m²*.

402. glandes *UDXMM* : grandes *A*.

404. tunc *AMm²BC* : tum *UDXm²* : dum *m¹*.

405. chalybeia *m²* : chalibeia *UX* : chalibe iam *A* : calybīs iam *M* : calibis iam *Dm¹*. latebat *UD²Xm²* : placebat *AD¹MM¹*.

406. cheu *DXm²* : eha *A¹* : ehū *A²* : heu heu *UMm¹*.

407. orate *ADMM²* : optate *UXm¹*.

408. pacificumque *AUDM¹m²* : perpetuumque *Xm¹*.

410. grana *AUDXM* : dona *m*.

411. aberunt *UDXMM* : habuerunt *A*. unctas *AUDXMM¹* : iunctas *m²*. taedas *Xm* : tedas *UDM* : caedas *A*.

412. cereri *UDXM* : cereris *Am²*.

furnished a feast. Afterwards the acorn was produced ; it was well when they had found the acorn, and the sturdy oak afforded a splendid affluence. Ceres was the first who invited man to better sustenance and exchanged acorns for more useful food. She forced bulls to yield their necks to the yoke ; then for the first time did the upturned soil behold the sun. Copper was now held in esteem ; iron ore still lay concealed ; ah, would that it had been hidden for ever ! Ceres delights in peace ; and you, ye husbandmen, pray for perpetual peace and for a pacific prince. You may give the goddess spelt, and the compliment of spurting salt, and grains of incense on old hearths ; and if there is no incense, kindle resinous torches. Good Ceres is content with little, if that little be but pure. Ye attendants, with tucked up robes, take the knives away from the ox ; let the ox plough ; sacrifice the lazy sow. The axe should never smite the neck that fits the yoke ; let him live and often labour in the hard soil.

The subject requires that I should narrate the rape of the Virgin : in my narrative you will read much that you knew before ; a few particulars will be new to you.

The Trinacrian land got its name from its natural position : it runs out into the vast ocean in three rocky capes. It is the favourite home of Ceres : she owns many cities, among them fertile Henna with its well-tilled soil. Arethusa had invited the mothers of the gods, and the yellow-haired goddess had also come to the sacred banquet. Attended as usual by her wonted damsels, her daughter roamed bare-foot through the familiar meadows. In a

413. ministri *AUDX^aMmⁱ* : magistri *Xⁱm^a*.

414. ignavam *UXMm* : ignavem *A* : ignaviam *D*.

417. ipse *AUDX^aMmⁱ* : iste *m^a*.

418. eris *UDXMm* : erit *A*.

419. procurrit *AUDX^aMⁱm^a* : procumbit *mⁱ* : descendit *M^a*.

420. a positu *AUDX^am^a* : appositu *Mmⁱ*.

421. cereri *AUXMm* : cereris *D*. ea *AUDMmⁱ* : ibi *Xm^a* : dea
two *S*.

422. henna *U* : hensa *A* : enna *m^a* : ethna *D* : aethna *Xmⁱ* : aetna *M*.

423. arethusa *AUDX^am* : aretusa *M*. vocarat *UDXMm* : vocaret
A.

- valle sub umbrosa locus est aspergine multa
 uvidus ex alto desilientis aquae.
 tot fuerant illic, quot habet natura, colores,
 430 pictaque dissimili flore nitebat humus.
 quam simul aspexit, "comites, accedite" dixit
 "et mecum plenos flore referte sinus."
 praeda puellares animos prolecat inanis,
 et non sentitur sedulitate labor.
 435 haec implet lento calathos e vimine nexos,
 haec gremium, laxos degravat illa sinus :
 illa legit calthas, huic sunt violaria curae,
 illa papaverceas subsecat ungue comas :
 has, hyacinthe, tenes ; illas, amarante, moraris :
 440 pars thyma, pars rorem, pars meliloton amat.
 plurima lecta rosa est, sunt et sine nomine flores ;
 ipsa crocos tenues liliaque alba legit.
 carpenti studio paulatim longius itur,
 et dominam casu nulla secuta comes.
 445 hanc videt et visam patruus velociter aufert
 regnaque caeruleis in sua portat equis.
 illa quidem clamabat "io, carissima mater,
 auferor !" ipsa suos abscideratque sinus :
 panditur interea Diti via, namque diurnum
 450 lumen inadsueti vix patiuntur equi.
 at chorus aequalis, cumulatis flore canistris,
 "Persephone," clamant "ad tua dona veni !"
 ut clamata silet, montes ululatibus implent
 et feriunt maesta pectora nuda manu.

427. umbrosa *A¹UDX¹Mm* : umbrata *A¹*.

428. uvidus *U* : uvidu (?) *A* : humidus *DXMmBC* and many *S*.

429. tot fuerant *AD¹XMm* : tot florent *U* : floruerant or florebant *C*.
Schenkl : vernant *Heinsius*, *Bentley* : fulgebant *Riese*.

430. nitebat *AUD¹XMm* : renidet *Heinsius*, *Bentley* : ridebat one *S* :
 viribat one *S*.

431. simul *UD¹XMm* : semel *A*.

432. mecum plenos *UD¹Xm* : plenos mecum *M* : mecum dixit *A*. re-
 fert *A¹UD¹XMm* : referre *A¹*.

433. prolecat *AU* : oblectat *DMm¹* : delectat *Xm¹*.

435. lento calathos e *AD¹XMm¹* (de *m¹*) : calathos lento de *U*. nexos
AUD¹Mm¹ : textos *Xm¹*.

436. illa *UD¹XMm* : ille *A*.

437. caltas *AUD¹XMm*.

439. amarante *M* : amaranthe *AUX¹Mm¹* : amaranthe *X¹m¹*.

shady vale there is a spot moist with the abundant spray of a high waterfall. All the hues that nature owns were there displayed, and the pied earth was bright with various flowers. As soon as she espied it, "Come hither, comrades," she said, "and with me bring home lapfuls of 5 flowers." The bauble booty lured their girlish minds, and they were too busy to feel fatigue. One filled baskets plaited of supple withes, another loaded her lap, another the loose folds of her robe; one gathered marigolds, another paid heed to beds of violets; another nipped off heads of 10 poppies with her nails; some are attracted by the hyacinth, others lingered over amaranth; some love thyme, others rosemary, others melilot; full many a rose was coiled, and flowers without a name. Persephone herself plucked dainty crocuses and white lilies. Intent on gathering, she, little 15 by little, strayed far, and it chanced that none of her companions followed their mistress. Her father's brother saw her, and no sooner did he see her than he swiftly carried her off and bore her on his dusky steeds into his own realm. She in sooth cried out, "Ho, dearest mother, they are 20 carrying me away!" and she rent the bosom of her robe. Meantime a road is opened up for Dis; for his steeds can hardly brook the unaccustomed daylight. But her troop of playmates, when they had heaped their baskets with flowers, cried out, "Persephone, come to the gifts we have 25 for thee!" When she answered not their call, they filled the mountain with shrieks, and smote their bare bosoms with their sad hands.

440. rorem *D*: rore *A*: rores *XMm*¹: casiam *Um*². meliloton *UM*:
melelton *A*: melclonthon *D*: melilothon *m*: melitonon *A*¹: melelethon
*A*². amat *AUDXMmBC* and many *S*: amant *Burman*, *Gierig*,
Merkel, without citing any *MS*.

441. sunt et *AM*: et sunt *UDXm*: lecti *Heinsius*, *Bentley*: sumpti
Riese. Should we read *multi* for *sunt*?

447. clamabat io *UXMm*¹: clamat io io *Dm*²: clamato *A*.

448. ipsa *AUDMm*²: illa *Xm*¹. abscleratque *ADXMm*¹: abs-
ciderantque *U*: excideratque *m*².

451. at *UDXMm*: ad *A*. cumulatae flore ministræ *AUDXMm*¹:
cumulatis flore canistris *m*² and a few *S*.

452. clamant *ADXMm*: clamat *U*. tua *AUXMm*: dua *D*.

454. maesta (moesta, mesta) *ADXMm*¹: maestæ *Um*². manu
UDXMm: manus *A*.

- 455 attonita est plangore Ceres (modo venerat Hennam)
 nec mora, "me miseram! filia," dixit "ubi es?"
 mentis inops rapitur, quales audire solemus
 Threicias fusis maenadas ire comis.
 ut vitulo mugit sua mater ab ubere raptō
 460 et quaerit fetus per nemus omne suos:
 sic dea nec retinet gemitus et concita cursu
 fertur et a campis incipit, Henna, tuis.
 inde puellaris nacta est vestigia plantae
 et pressam noto pondere vidit humum;
 465 forsitan illa dies erroris summa fuisset,
 si non turbassent signa reperta sues.
 iamque Leontinos Amenanaque flumina cursu
 praeterit et ripas, herbifer Aci, tuas;
 praeterit et Cyanen et fontes lenis Anapi
 470 et te, verticibus non adeunde Gela.
 liquerat Ortygien Megaracaeque Pantagienque,
 quaque Symaetheas accipit aequor aquas,
 antraque Cyclopium positae exusta caminis,
 quique locus curvae nomina falcis habet,
 475 Himeraque et Didymen Acragantaque Tauromenumque
 sacrarumque Melan pascua laeta boum.
 hinc Camerinan adit Thapsonque et Heloria Tempe,
 quaque iacet Zephyro semper apertus Eryx.
 iamque Peloriadem Lilybaeaeque, iamque Pachynon
 480 lustrarat, terrae cornua trina suae.

455. attonita *AUDXmm*: adtonita *Fhwald-Levy*. plangore
*AUDMm*²: clamore *Xm*¹. hennam *AU*: ennam *m*²: ethnam *Dm*¹:
 aethnam *X*: aetnam *M*. 456. es *AUDMm*²: est *Xm*¹.

457. quales *UXMm*¹: ut quas *Adm*².

458. fusis *AUDX²Mm*²: passis *X¹m*¹.

459. mugit *UDXmm*: remugit *A*. ubere *UDXmm*: utere *A*.

461. nec *AUDMm*²: non *Xm*². et *AUXm*¹: sed *DM*. cursu
*UDXmm*¹: currit *Am*².

462. e *AUDm*²: ex *M*: a *Xm*¹. henna *AU*: enna *m*²: ethna *D*:
 aethna *Xm*¹: aetna *M*. tuis *AUDXmm*: suis *A*¹.

464. pondere *AUXmm*: corpore *D*.

465. erroris *AUDMm*¹: errori *Xm*²: errorum *m*².

466. reperta *AUDX²Mm*²: repente *X¹m*¹.

467. amenanaque *Ciofani*: amenenaque *A¹ and three 5*: amenaeque *UDX*:
 amoenaeque *m*: anienaeque *M*. 468. aci *A(β)U²M*: ace *U¹DXm*²: acy *m*¹.

469. cyanen *Um*: cyanem *M*: cianen *DX*: cranen *A*. fontes
AUDXmm: fontem *5*. anapi *AUDX²Mm*²: apani *m*¹: apanpi *X¹m*².

470. adeunde *UDXm*: adeunda *A*.

471. ortygien *m*¹: ortigien *UX*: ortygiem *M*: ortygiam *m*²: orthiginen *A*.

Ceres was startled by the loud lament; she had just come to Henna, and straightway, "Woe's me! my daughter," said she, "where art thou?" Distraught she hurried along, even as we hear that Thracian Maenads rush with streaming hair. As a cow, whose calf has been torn from her udder, 5 bellows and seeks her offspring through every grove, so the goddess did not stifle her groans and ran at speed, starting from the plains of Henna. From there she lit on prints of the girlish feet and marked the traces of the familiar figure on the ground. Perhaps that day had been the last 10 of her wanderings if swine had not foiled the trail she found. Already in her course she had passed Leontini, and the river Amenanus, and the grassy banks of Acis. She had passed Cyane, and the springs of gently flowing Anapus, and the Gelas with its whirlpools not to be approached. 15 She had left behind Ortygia and Megara and the Pantagias, and the place where the sea receives the water of the Symaethus, and the caves of the Cyclopes, burnt by the forges set up in them, and the place that takes its name from a curved sickle, and Himera, and Didyme, and Acragas, 20 and Tauromenum, and the Melas, where are the rich pastures of the sacred kine. Next she came to Camerina, and Thapsus, and the Tempe of Helorus, and where Eryx lies for ever open to the western breeze. Already had she traversed Pelorias, and Lilybaeum, and Pachynum, the 25

472. quaque *UDXMM*: quaeque *A*. simetheas *Mm*: simecheas *A*: semitheas *U*: simeteas *X*: simonteas *D*.

474. quique *UDXMM*: quinque *A*.

475. himeraque *UD*: hymeruque *XMm*: himaeraque *A*. didymen *m*: dydimen *UXM*: didimen *D*: didimaem *A*. acragantaque *Heinsius*: acracantaque *X*: agrigentaque *AUMm*¹: agigentaque *D*. tauromenumque *AUMm*: tauromenonque *D*: tauromenenque *X*.

476. sacrarumque *UXMm*¹: sacrorumque *m*³ and a few *S*: sacramque *A*¹: sacrumque *A*¹. melan *AU*: melam *M*.

477. hinc *UDXMM*: hic *A*. camerinan *U*: camerinam *XMm*: camerinann *A*: cameron *D*. adit *AUMm*: adiit *DX*. thapsonque *m*: thabsonque *U*: thabson *A*: tapsonque *XM*: tason *D*. heloria *AXM*: beloria *m*¹: eloria *m*³: oloria *Dm*³: thelona *U*.

478. quique (for quaque) one *S* (perhaps rightly). iacet *AUMm*³: patet *DXm*¹.

479. peloriaden *AUDXm*: peloriadem *M*. lilybeaque *M*: lilibeaque *DX*³: lilibeiaque *m*³: lylibeaque *U*: libibraque *A*: libiaque *X*¹: libeaque *m*¹. pachynon *m*: pachinon *AUDXM*.

480. trina *I. Vlitius* (approved by *Heinsius*): prima *AUDXMm* and apparently all other *MSS*.

- quacumque ingreditur, miseris loca cuncta querellis
 implet, ut amissum cum gemit ales Ityn,
 perque vices modo "Persephone!" modo "filia!"
 clamat,
 clamat et alternis nomen utrumque ciet.
 485 sed neque Persephone Cererem nec filia matrem
 audit, et alternis nomen utrumque perit;
 unaque, pastorem vidisset an arva colentem,
 vox erat "hac gressus ecqua puella tulit?"
 iam color unus inest rebus, tenebrisque teguntur
 490 omnia, iam vigiles conticuere canes:
 alta iacet vasti super ora Typhoeos Actne,
 cuius anhelatis ignibus ardet humus;
 illic accendit geminas pro lampade pinus:
 hinc Cereris sacris nunc quoque taeda datur.
 495 est specus exesi structura pumicis asper,
 non homini regio, non adeunda ferae:
 quo simul ac venit, frenatos curribus angues
 iungit et aequoreas sicca pererrat aquas.
 effugit et Syrtes et te, Zanclos Charybdis,
 500 et vos, Nisaci, naufraga monstra, canes,
 Hadriacumque patens late bimaremque Corinthum:
 sic venit ad portus, Attica terra, tuos.
 hic primum sedit gelido maestissima saxo:
 illud Cecropidae nunc quoque triste vocant.
 505 sub Iove duravit multis inmotae diebus,
 et lunae patiens et pluvialis aquae.
 fors sua cuique loco est: quod nunc Cerialis Eleusin
 dicitur, hoc Celei rura fuere senis.

481. quacumque *AUDXM¹m*: quocumque *M²*. loca *UDXMm*:
 longa *A*.

482. cum gemit *AUDXMm¹*: congemit *m²*.

484. alternis *AUDXM²m*: alterius *X²M¹*.

485. nec filia *AUDXm*: neque filia *M*.

486. alternis *AUDXM²m*: alterius *X²M¹*.

488. ecqua *UDXMm²*: equa *A*: si qua *m¹*.

490. conticuere *UDXMm*: continuare *A*.

491. typhoeos *Xm*: tiferos *A*: tiphoeos *UM*: thiphoeos *D*. etne

A: ethne *D*: aethnae *Um¹*: aethne *Xm²*: aetna *M*.

492. anhelatis *UXm*: hanhellatis *A*: anhelatibus *D*.

493. pro *AUDXM¹m*: cum *M²*.

496. regio *UX¹m¹*: facilis *ADX²Mm²* and apparently most MSS.

three horns of her land. And wherever she set her foot she filled every place with her sad complaints, as when the bird doth mourn her Itys lost. In turn she cried, now "Persephone!" now "Daughter!" She cried and shouted either name by turns; but neither did Persephone hear Ceres, 5 nor the daughter hear her mother; both names by turns died away. And whether she spied a shepherd or a husbandman at work, her one question was, "Did a girl pass this way?" Now o'er the landscape stole a sober hue, and darkness hid the world: now the watchful dogs were hushed. 10 Lofty Etna lies over the mouth of huge Typhœus, whose fiery breath sets the ground aglow. There the goddess kindled two pine-trees to serve her as a light; hence to this day a torch is given out at the rites of Ceres. There is a cave all fretted with the seams of scolloped pumice, 15 a region not to be approached by man or beast. Soon as she came hither, she yoked the bitted serpents to her car and roamed, unwetted, o'er the ocean waves. She shunned the Syrtes, and Zanclean Charybdis, and you, ye Nisæan hounds, monsters of shipwreck; she shunned 20 the Adriatic, stretching far and wide, and Corinth of the double seas.

Thus she came to thy havens, land of Attica. There for the first time she sat her down most rueful on a cold stone: that stone even now the Cecropids call the Sorrowful. 25 For many days she tarried motionless under the open sky, patiently enduring the moonlight and the rain. Not a place but has its own peculiar destiny: what now is named the Eleusis of Ceres was then the plot of land of aged Celeus.

497. quo *UDXm*: quod *A*. simul ac venit *UDM*²: simul hac venit *A*: simul advenit *Xm*¹. curribus *AUXM*: cursibus *m*.

498. iungit *AUXM*¹: iunxit *Dm*².

499. et syrtes *UM*²*m*¹: et sirtes *X*: ad syrtes *M*¹*m*²: ad sirtes *D*.

500. nisi *Xm*: ny aei *M*: visei *D*: niferi *A*: scyllei *U*. monstra *ADX*²*Mm*²: turba *UX*¹*m*¹*BC*⁵.

501. hadriacumque *AUX*: adriacumque *DM*. patens *A*²*DXM*²*m*: petens *A*¹*UM*¹. corinthum *UXMm*: chorintum *A*: corinthon *m*²: corinton *D*.

502. attica *AXMm*: athica *D*: africa *U*¹.

507. fors *AUDX*²*Mm*²: sors *X*¹*m*¹. quod *AU*¹*m*²: quo *U*²: quae *M*: qui *m*²: nam *Xm*². eleusin *AUX*: eleusis *DMm*.

508. hoc *A*⁵: haec *UXMm*²: hic *Dm*¹. fuere *AU*²*DXMm*: fuisse *U*²₅.

- ille domum glandes excussaue mora rubetis
 510 portat et arsuris arida ligna focis.
 filia parua duas redigebat monte capellas,
 et tener in cunis filius aeger erat.
 "mater!" ait virgo (mota est dea nomine matris)
 "quid facis in solis incommitata locis?"
 515 restitit et senior, quamvis onus urget, et orat,
 tecta suae subeat quantulacumque casae.
 illa negat. simularat anum mitraque capillos
 presserat. instanti talia dicta refert:
 "sospes eas semperque parens! mihi filia rapta est.
 520 heu, melior quanto sors tua sorte mea est!"
 dixit, et ut lacrimae (neque enim lacrimare decorum est)
 decidit in tepidos lucida gutta sinus.
 flent pariter molles animis virgoque senexque;
 e quibus haec iusti verba fuere senis:
 525 "sic tibi, quam raptam quaeris, sit filia sospes,
 surge nec exiguae despice tecta casae."
 cui dea "duc!" inquit "scisti, qua cogere posses,"
 seque levat saxo subsequiturque senem.
 dux comiti narrat, quam sit sibi filius aeger
 530 nec capiat somnos invigiletque malis.
 illa soporiferum, parvos initura penates,
 colligit agresti lene papaver humo;
 dum legit, oblito fertur gustasse palato
 longamque imprudens exsoluisse famem.
 535 quae quia principio posuit ieiunia noctis,
 tempus habent mystae sidera visa cibi.
 limen ut intravit, luctus videt omnia plena:
 iam spes in puero nulla salutis erat.

510. ligna *DXMm*: lingua *U*: lingua *A*.

511. monte *AU²(in margin)DXMm*: rupe *U¹*.

513. dea nomine *AU²DXMm*: de nomine *U¹*.

514. incommitata *UDXMm*: inominata *A*.

515. restitit *Xm¹*: perstitit *AUDMm²*.

516. quantulacumque (quantulacunque) *AUDXMm²*: qualiacunque *M¹*.

518. dicta *AUXMm¹*: verba *Dm²*.

520. melior quanto *AUDMm*: quanto melior *X*. mea est *AUDMm²*:
 mea (*without* est) *Xm¹*.

521. deorum est *AUDMm*: deorum (*without* est) *X*.

523. animis *AUDXMm¹*: animi *X¹m²*.

525. quaeris (queris) *AUDMm²*: quereris *Xm¹*. sit *UDXMm*: si *A*.

527. duc *UX¹m²*: sic *DX²Mm¹*(corrected).

He carried home acorns and blackberries, knocked from
 bramble bushes, and dry wood to feed the blazing hearth.
 A little daughter drove two nannygoats back from the
 mountain, and an infant son was sick in his cradle.
 "Mother," said the maid—the goddess was touched by 5
 the name of mother—"what dost thou all alone in solitary
 places?" The old man, too, halted, despite the load he
 bore, and prayed that she would pass beneath the roof of
 his poor cottage. She refused. She had disguised herself
 as an old dame and covered her hair with a cap. When 10
 he pressed her, she answered thus: "Be happy! may a
 parent's joy be thine for ever! My daughter has been
 taken from me. Alas! how much better is thy lot than
 mine!" She spoke, and like a tear (for gods can never
 weep) a crystal drop fell on her bosom warm. They wept 15
 with her, those tender hearts, the old man and the maid;
 and these were the words of the worthy old man: "So may
 the ravished daughter, whom thou seekest, be restored safe to
 thee, as thou shalt arise, nor scorn the shelter of my humble
 hut." The goddess answered him, "Lead on; thou hast 20
 found the way to force me"; and she rose from the stone
 and followed the old man. As he led her and she followed,
 he told her how his son was sick and sleepless, kept wakeful
 by his ills. As she was about to pass within the lowly
 dwelling, she plucked a smooth, a slumbrous poppy that 25
 grew on the waste ground; and as she plucked, 'tis said
 she tasted it forgetfully, and so unwitting stayed her long
 hunger. Hence, because she broke her fast at nightfall, the
 initiates time their meal by the appearance of the stars.
 When she crossed the threshold, she saw the household 30
 plunged in grief; all hope of saving the child was gone.

529. quam *AUDMm*¹: quod *Xm*². sibi *UDXMM*: tibi *A*.

531. soporiferum *AUDX²M*: salutifice *X*¹.

532. lene *UDXMM*: leve *A*.

534. longamque *AUDXm*: et longam *M*. exsoluisse *ADM*: ex-
 oluisse *Um*: excoluisse *X*.

536. habent *UDXMM*: habet *A*. mystae *Xm*²: mistae *ADM*¹:
 mestae *U*: mensae *m*². cibi *DX*: sibi *AUMmBCS*.

537. limen *UDXMM*(corrected): lumen *A*. luctus *ADXMM*: luctu
U.

538. nam (for iam) *Hilberg*. puero *AUDXMM*¹: parvo *m*².

- matre salutata (mater Metanira vocatur)
 540 iungere dignata est os puerile suo.
 pallor abit, subitasque vident in corpore vires :
 tantus caelesti venit ab ore vigor.
 tota domus laeta est, hoc est materque paterque
 nataque : tres illi tota fuere domus.
 545 mox epulas ponunt, liquefacta coagula lacte
 pomaque et in ceris aurea mella suis.
 abstinet alma Ceres somnique papavera causas
 dat tibi cum tepido lacte bibenda, puer.
 noctis erat medium placidique silentia somni :
 550 Triptoleum gremio sustulit illa suo
 terque manu permulsit eum, tria carmina dixit,
 carmina mortali non referenda sono,
 inque foco corpus pueri vivente favilla
 obruit, humanum purget ut ignis onus.
 555 excutitur somno stulte pia mater et amens
 "quid facis ?" exclamat membraque ab igne rapit.
 cui dea "dum non es" dixit "scelerata, fuisti :
 inrita materno sunt mea dona metu.
 iste quidem mortalis erit, sed primus arabit
 560 et seret et culta praemia tollet humo."
 dixit et egrediens nubem trahit inque dracones
 transit et alifero tollitur axe Ceres.
 Sunion expositum Piraeaque tuta recessu
 linquit et in dextrum quae iacet ora latus.
 565 hinc init Aegaeum, quo Cycladas aspicit omnes,
 Ioniumque rapax Icariumque legit,
 perque urbes Asiae longum petit Hellespontum,
 diversumque locis alta pererrat iter.

539. metanira *Heinsius* (comparing *Apollodorus* i. 5. 1-2, etc.): melanira
U: menalina *X²Mm³*: menalia *A*: monalca *D*: metama *X¹*.

541. abit *DXMm*: abiit *A*: abest *U*.

546. ceris (caeris) *ADXMm¹*: teneris *Um²*. suis *ADXMm¹*: favis
Um³.

547. causas *ADXMm¹*: causam *Um³*.

548. tepido *UDXMm*: trepido *A*.

549. somni *A¹UDXMm*: noctis *A¹*.

551. permulsit *AUDXMm*: demulsit *B* and a few *S*.

553. corpus pueri *AUDXMm*: pueri corpus a few *S*.

555. stulte *AUDMm³*: stulto *m¹*: subito *X*. amens *UDXMm*:
 amans *A*.

557. cui *AUDXMm³*: cum *m¹*. es *AUM³m¹*: vis *DXM¹m³*.

The goddess greeted the mother (her name was Metanira) and deigned to put her lips to the child's lips. His pallor fled, and strength of a sudden was visibly imparted to his frame; such vigour flowed from lips divine. There was joy in the whole household, that is, in mother, father, and 5 daughter; for they three were the whole household. Anon they set out a repast—curds liquefied in milk, and apples, and golden honey in the comb. Kind Ceres abstained, and gave the child poppies to drink in warm milk to make him sleep. It was midnight, and there reigned the silence of 10 peaceful sleep; the goddess took up Triptolemus in her lap, and thrice she stroked him with her hand, and spoke three spells, spells not to be rehearsed by mortal tongue, and on the hearth she buried the boy's body in live embers, that the fire might purge away the burden of humanity. His 15 fond-foolish mother awoke from sleep and distractedly cried out, "What dost thou?" and she snatched his body from the fire. To her the goddess said: "Meaning no wrong, thou hast done grievous wrong: my bounty has been baffled by a mother's fear. That boy of yours will indeed 20 be mortal, but he will be the first to plough and sow and reap a guerdon from the turned-up soil."

She said, and forth she fared, trailing a cloud behind her, and passed to her dragons, then soared aloft in her winged car. She left behind bold Sunium, and the snug harbour of 25 Piraeus, and the coast that lies on the right hand. From there she came to the Aegean, where she beheld all the Cyclades; she skimmed the wild Ionian and the Icarian Sea; and passing through the cities of Asia she made for the long Hellespont, and pursued aloft a roving course, this way and 30

559. erit *UDXMM*: erat *A*.

562. alifero *AUDMM*¹: aligero *Xm*¹⁵.

563. sunion *AUm*: symion *X* (corrected): sinion *M* (corrected): synion *m*¹: somnion *D*. tuta *AUXMM*: thura *D*. 564. ora *AUXMM*: hora *D*.

565. quo *ADMM*¹: quod *UXm*¹ (perhaps rightly). aspiciat *AUDXMM*: adspiciat *Burman*, *Ehwald-Levy* (without citing any MS.).

566. ioniumque *AUDXMM* (as to the quantities of the first two syllables, *Ion*, see *Housman on Manilius*, iv. 767, who points out that by the Ionian Sea *Ovid* probably means the sea off the coast of Ionia, which *Pausanias* (vii. 5, 6) calls "the sea of the Ionians"). rapax *UXm*¹ *C*⁵ (preferred by *Heinsius*): capax *ADMM*¹ and apparently most MSS. icariumque *UD*: icareumque *XM*: ichariumque *m*: icariamque *A*. legit *AUDXMM*¹ *m*: petit *M*¹.

568. diversumque *AUXMM*: divisumque *D*.

- nam modo turilegos Arabas, modo despicit Indos,
 570 hinc Libys, hinc Meroë siccaque terra subest ;
 nunc adit Hesperios Rhenum Rhodanumque Padumque
 teque, future parens, Thybri, potentis aquae.
 quo feror ? inmensum est erratas dicere terras :
 praeteritus Cererì nullus in orbe locus.
 575 errat et in caelo liquidique immunia ponti
 adloquitur gelido proxima signa polo :
 " Parrhasides stellae (namque omnia nosse potestis,
 aequoreas numquam cum subeatis aquas),
 Persephonem natam miserae monstrate parenti ! "
 580 dixerat. huic Helice talia verba refert :
 " crimine nox vacua est ; Solem de virgine rapta
 consule, qui late facta diurna videt."
 Sol aditus " quam quaeris," ait " ne vana labores,
 nupta Iovis fratri tertia regna tenet."
 585 quæsta diu secum, sic est adfata Tonantem,
 maximaque in vultu signa dolentis erant :
 " si memor es, de quo mihi sit Proserpina nata,
 dimidium curae debet habere tuæ.
 orbe pererrato sola est iniuria facti
 590 cognita : commissi præmia raptor habet.
 at neque Persephone digna est prædone marito,
 nec gener hoc nobis more parandus erat.
 quid gravius victore Gyge captiva tulissem,
 quam nunc te cæli sceptrâ tenente tuli ?
 595 verum impune ferat, nos hæc patiemur inultæ ;
 reddat et emendet facta priora novis."

569. nam *AUDXm* : iam *M*. arabas *UXMm* : arabes *AD*. de-
 spicit *AUDMm*¹ : respicit *Xm*².

570. libys *AMm*¹ : libis *DX* : lybis *U*. meroe *UDXM* : meroes *m*² :
 meropes *m*¹ : meoroe *A*.

571. nunc *A*¹ (nun cadit *A*¹) *UDXm* : hinc *M*.

572. parens *AUDXm*¹ : pater *m*². thybri *U* : thibri *A* : tibri
DM : tybri *Xm*.

575. immunia *A*² : immunia *U*¹ *DXM* : immania *A*¹ : immania *U*¹.

576. adloquitur *A* : alloquitur *UDXMm*.

577. parrhasides *Xm* : parrasides *DM* : parasides *A* : pharrasides *U*.
 nosse *UDXM* : nosce *Am*.

579. natam miserae *AUDXm* : miserae natam *two* *S*. monstrate
UXM : monstrare *A*.

580. huic *A*¹ *UDXm* : huc *A*¹ : hinc *M*. helice *Xm*² : elice *UDMm*¹ :
 elicae *A*.

that. For now she looked down on the incense-gathering Arabs, and now on the Indians: beneath her lay on one side Libya, on the other side Meroe, and the parched land. Now she visited the western rivers, the Rhine, the Rhone, the Po, and thee, Tiber, future parent of a mighty water. 5 Whither do I stray? 'Twere endless to tell of the lands over which she wandered. No spot in the world did Ceres leave unvisited. She wandered also in the sky, and accosted the constellations that lie next to the cold pole and never dip in the ocean wave. "Ye Parrhasian stars, reveal to a wretched 10 mother her daughter Persephone; for ye can know all things, since never do ye plunge under the waters of the sea." So she spoke, and Helice answered her thus: "Night is blameless. Ask of the Sun concerning the ravished maid: far and wide he sees the things that are done by day." 15 Appealed to, the Sun said, "To spare thee vain trouble, she whom thou seekest is wedded to Jove's brother and rules the third realm."

After long moaning to herself she thus addressed the Thunderer, and in her face there were deep lines of sorrow: 20 "If thou dost remember by whom I got Persephone, she ought to have half of thy care. By wandering round the world I have learned naught but the knowledge of the wrong: the ravisher enjoys the reward of his crime. But neither did Persephone deserve a robber husband, nor 25 was it meet that in this fashion we should find a son-in-law. What worse wrong could I have suffered if Gyges had been victorious and I his captive, than now I have sustained while thou art sceptered king of heaven? But let him escape unpunished; I'll put up with it nor ask for vengeance; 30 only let him restore her and repair his former deeds by new."

583. quam *UXMm*: quem *A*.

585. adfata *A*: affata *UDXMm*.

590. raptor *A²UDXM¹m¹*: raptar *A¹*: frater *M²m²*.

591. digna est *UDXMm*: dignata est *A*.

593. gyge *UM*: gige *AXm*: giga *D*: gye *Scaliger* (perhaps rightly: compare *Apollodorus*, i. 1. 1, with my note). tulisset *AUDXMm²*: tulisset *m¹*.

594. caeli *UDXMm*: caclis *A*. tuli *AUDXMm²*: tullit *m¹*.

595. haec *AUXMm*: hoc *D*. inultae *UDXMm*: invitae *A*.

596. emendet *UDXMm*: emendat *A*.

- Iuppiter hanc lenit factumque excusat amore,
 " nec gener est nobis ille pudendus " ait.
 " non ego nobilior : posita est mihi regia caelo,
 600 possidet alter aquas, alter inane chaos.
 sed si forte tibi non est mutabile pectus,
 statque semel iuncti rumpere vincla tori,
 hoc quoque temptemus, siquidem ieiuna remansit ;
 si minus, inferni coniugis uxor erit."
 605 Tartara iussus adit sumptis Caducifer alis
 speque redit citius visaque certa refert :
 " rapta tribus " dixit " solvit ieiunia granis,
 Punica quae lento cortice poma tegunt."
 non secus indoluit, quam si modo rapta fuisset,
 610 macsta parens, longa vixque refecta mora est,
 atque ita " nec nobis caelum est habitabile " dixit ;
 " Taenaria recipi me quoque valle iube."
 et factura fuit, pactus nisi Iuppiter esset,
 bis tribus ut caelo mensibus illa foret.
 615 tum demum voltumque Ceres animumque recepit
 imposuitque suae spicea sarta comae ;
 largaque provenit cessatis messis in arvis,
 et vix congestas area cepit opes.
 alba decent Cererem : vestis Cerialibus albas
 620 sumite ; nunc pulli velleris usus abest.

Occupat Aprilis Idus cognomine Victor
 Iuppiter : hac illi sunt data templa dic.
 hac quoque, ni fallor, populo dignissima nostro
 atria Libertas coepit habere sua.

597. amore *AUDXM* : amorem *m*.
 601. sed *AUXMm*¹ : quod *Dm*².
 602. statque *AUDXM* : stantque *m*. vincla *AUDX¹M¹m* : iura
X²M².
 604. si *AUDXMm*¹ : sin *m*².
 606. visaque certa refert *UXMm* : visaque refert certa *A* : certaue visa 5 :
 iussaque (*for* visaque) *BCS*.
 608. tegunt *AUDXMm*² : legunt *m*¹.
 609. non *ADXMm* : haud *U*.
 610. refecta *UDXMm* : refacta *A*.
 612. taenaria *Am* : tenaria *UXM¹* : tartarea *Dm*². iube *AUDX*
 (*followed by an erasure*) *Mm* : iubet *X¹(?)* : lubet *Polle*, *Davies* (*perhaps*
rightly).
 613. factura fuit *ADXMm* : fecisset idem *U*.

Jupiter soothed her, and on the plea of love excused the deed. "He is not a son-in-law," said he, "to put us to shame: I myself am not a whit more noble: my royalty is in the sky, another owns the waters, and another the void of chaos. But if haply thy mind is set immutably, and thou art resolved to break the bonds of wedlock, once contracted, come let us try to do so, if only she has kept her fast; if not, she will be the wife of her infernal spouse." The Herald God received his orders and assumed his wings: he flew to Tartarus and returning sooner than he was looked for brought tidings sure of what he had seen. "The ravished Maid," said he, "did break her fast on three grains enclosed in the tough rind of a pomegranate." Her rueful parent grieved no less than if her daughter had just been reft from her, and it was long before she was herself again, and hardly then. And thus she spoke: "For me, too, heaven is no home; order that I too be admitted to the Taenarian vale." And she would have done so, if Jupiter had not promised that Persephone should be in heaven for twice three months. Then at last Ceres recovered her looks and her spirits, and set wreaths of corn ears on her hair; and the laggard fields yielded a plenteous harvest, and the threshing-floor could hardly hold the high-piled sheaves. White is Ceres' proper colour; put on white robes at Ceres' festival; now no one wears dun-coloured wool.

25

ID. 13th.

The Ides of April belong to Jupiter under the title of Victor: a temple was dedicated to him on that day. On that day, too, if I mistake not, Liberty began to own a hall well worthy of our people.

615. tum *AUXMm*: tunc *D*. vultumque *A*: vultumque *UDXM*: vultusque *m*.

616. imposuitque *AUXMm*: inposuitque *D*.

617. largaque *AUDX²Mm²*: longaque *X¹m¹*. arvis *ADXMm¹*: agris *Um²*.

618. congestus *UDXMm*: coniectas *A*.

619. decent *DXMm*: decet *AU*. vestes *ADXMm¹*: vestis *Um²*.
 cerealibus *A*: cerealibus *UDXMm*. alba decet cererem vestis, cerealibus albas *Peter²*.

623. ni fallor *AUXM¹m*: si memini *DM²*.

624. sua *AUDX¹M¹m¹*: die *X²M²m²*.

- 625 Luce secutura tutos pete, navita, portus :
 ventus ab occasu grandine mixtus erit.
 sit licet ut fuerit, tamen hac Mutinensia Caesar
 grandine militia perculit arma sua.
- Tertia post Veneris cum lux surrexerit Idus,
 630 pontifices, forda sacra litate bove.
 forda ferens bos est fecundaque, dicta ferendo :
 hinc etiam fetus nomen habere putant.
 nunc gravidum pecus est, gravidae quoque semine terrae:
 Telluri plenae victima plena datur.
- 635 pars cadit arce Iovis, ter denas curia vacas
 accipit et largo sparsa cruore madet.
 ast ubi visceribus vitulos rapuere ministri
 sectaque fumosis exta dedere focis,
 igne cremat vitulos quae natu maxima virgo est,
 640 luce Palis populos purget ut ille cinis.
 rege Numa, fructu non respondente labori,
 inrita decepti vota colentis erant.
 nam modo siccus erat gelidis aquilonibus annus,
 nunc ager assidua luxuriabat aqua :
 645 saepe Ceres primis dominum fallebat in herbis,
 et levis obsesso stabat avena solo,
 et pecus ante diem partus edebat acerbos,
 agnaque nascendo saepe necabat ovem.
 silva vetus nullaue diu violata securi
 650 stabat, Maenalia sacra relictia deo :
 ille dabat tacitis animo responsa quieto
 noctibus. hic geminas rex Numa mactat oves.
 prima cadit Fauno, leni cadit altera Somno :
 sternitur in duro vellus utrumque solo.

627. sit licet ut fuerit Xm : sit licet et fuerit M : scilicet et fuerit AUD .

628. perculit $AUXm^1$: contudit DMm^2 .

630. forda $UDMm$ (corrected) : forila A .

631. forda A^2UDXMm : forsa A^1 . ferendo $AUDX^2$ (ferundo X^1) M :

ferendo est m .

633. nunc $AUDX^2Mm$: hinc X^1 .

gravidum $UDXMm$: avidum A .

quoque $AUDm^2$: nunc XMm^1 .

635. iovis $AUDXM$: ovis m .

637. ast $UDXMm$: est A and one ζ .

638. fumosis A^2UD^2XMm : fomosis A^1 : famosus D^1 .

639. virgo est $AUDXMm$: est omitted in a few ζ .

640. palis Um^2 : pales $ADXMm^1$.

XVIII. KAL. MAI. 14th.

On the next day steer for safe harbours, thou mariner. The wind from the west will be mixed with hail. Yet be that as it may, on that day, a day of hail, Caesar in battle array smote hip and thigh his foes at Modena.

XVII. KAL. 15th.

When the third day shall have dawned after the Ides of 5 Venus, ye pontiffs, offer in sacrifice a pregnant (*forda*) cow. *Forda* is a cow with calf and fruitful, so called from *ferendo* ("bearing"): they think that *fetus* is derived from the same root. Now are the cattle big with young; the ground, too, is big with seed: to teeming Earth is given a teeming 10 victim. Some are slain in the citadel of Jupiter; the wards (*Curiae*) get thrice ten cows, and are splashed and drenched with blood in plenty. But when the attendants have torn the calves from the bowels of their dams, and put the cut entrails on the smoking hearths, the eldest (Vestal) Virgin burns 15 the calves in the fire, that their ashes may purify the people on the day of Pales. When Numa was king, the harvest did not answer to the labour bestowed on it; the husbandman was deceived, and his prayers were offered in vain. For at one time the year was dry, the north winds blowing 20 cold; at another time the fields were rank with ceaseless rain; often at its first sprouting the crop balked its owner, and the light oats overran the choked soil, and the cattle dropped their unripe young before the time, and often the ewe perished in giving birth to her lamb. There was 25 an ancient wood, long unprofaned by the axe, left sacred to the god of Maenalus. He to the quiet mind gave answers in the silence of the night. Here Numa sacrificed two ewes. The first fell in honour of Faunus, the second fell in honour of gentle Sleep: the fleeces of both were spread on the hard 30

645. dominum *ADXMm*: dominos *U*.

647. partus *UDXMm*: pastus *A*.

648. necabat *UDXMm*: negabat *A*.

649. diu *UDXMm*²: die *Am*¹.

650. maenalio *Mm*: moenalio *A*: menalio *UDX*.

652. hic *DX²m²*: huic *A²UX²Mm¹* (perhaps rightly): huc *A*¹.

- 655 bis caput intonsum fontana spargitur unda,
 bis sua faginea tempora fronde tegit.
 usus abest Veneris, nec fas animalia mensis
 ponere, nec digitis anulus ullus inest.
 veste rudi tectus supra nova vellera corpus
 660 ponit, adorato per sua verba deo.
 interea placidam redimita papavere frontem
 nox venit et secum somnia nigra trahit.
 Faunus adest, oviumque premens pede vellera duro
 edidit a dextro talia verba toro :
 665 " morte boum tibi, rex, Tellus placanda duarum :
 det sacris animas una iuvenca duas."
 excutitur terrore quies : Numa visa revolvit
 et secum ambages caecaeque iussa refert.
 expedit errantem nemori gratissima coniunx
 670 et dixit " gravidae posceris exta bovis."
 exta bovis gravidae dantur, fecundior annus
 provenit, et fructum terra pecusque ferunt.
 hanc quondam Cytherea diem properantius ire
 iussit et admissos praecipitavit equos,
 675 ut titulum imperii quam primum luce sequenti
 Augusto iuveni prospera bella darent.

Sed iam praeteritas quartus tibi Lucifer Idus
 respicit : hac Hyades Dorida nocte tenent.

- Tertia post Hyadas cum lux erit orta remotas
 680 carcere partitos Circus habebit equos.

655. fontana *UDXMm* : fortuna *A*.

656. tegit *AUDMm*² : premit *Xm*¹.

658. digitis *UDXMm* : digitus *A*. ullus *AUDXMm*² : unus *m*¹.

659. veste rudi *UX¹Mm*¹ : vesper ubi est *ADX²m*².

660. ponit *UDXMm* : ponere *A*.

661. interea *UDXMm* : inter eam *A*.

662. nox venit *UDXMm* : nocuenit *A*.

663. pede *UDXMm* : pedā *A*.

664. a *UDXMm* : ad *A*. verba *AUDMm*² : dicta *Xm*¹. *With*
 edidit . . . verba *compare verse* 910, " edidit haec flamen verba."

665. rex tellus *AUDMm* : tellus rex *X*. duarum *AUDXMm*² :
 tuarum *m*¹ : duarum est *M*.

666. det *AUDm* : detque *X²M* : dat *X*¹. iuvenca *AUD*(corrected)
XMmBC and many *S* : necata some *S* (referred to by Heinsius).

667. revolvit *X²m*² : resolvit *AUDX²Mm*¹.

ground. Twice the king's unshorn head was sprinkled with water from a spring; twice he veiled his brows with beechen leaves. He refrained from the pleasures of love; no flesh might be served up to him at table; he might wear no ring on his fingers. Covered with a rough garment he laid him⁵ down on the fresh fleeces after worshipping the god in the appropriate words. Meantime, her calm brow wreathed with poppies, Night drew on, and in her train brought darkling dreams. Faunus was come, and setting his hard hoof on the sheep's fleeces uttered these words on the¹⁰ right side of the bed: "O King, thou must appease Earth by the death of two cows: let one heifer yield two lives in sacrifice." Fear banished sleep: Numa pondered the vision, and revolved in his mind the dark sayings and mysterious commands. His wife, the darling of the grove,¹⁵ extricated him from his doubts and said, "What is demanded of thee are the inwards of a pregnant cow." The inwards of a pregnant cow were offered; the year proved more fruitful, and earth and cattle yielded their increase. This day once on a time Cytherca commanded to go faster and²⁰ hurried the galloping horses down hill, that on the next day the youthful Augustus might receive the sooner the title of emperor for his victories in war.

XV. KAL. 17th.

But when you shall have counted the fourth day after the Ides, the Hyades will set in the sea that night. 25

XIII. KAL. 19th.

When the third morn shall have risen after the disappearance of the Hyades, the horses will be in the Circus, each

668. et secum *AUXMm*: secumque *D.* caecaque *UDX¹m¹*: recaque
A: certa que *X²m²*. i. ssn *UM²m¹*: visa *ADXM²m²*.

669. nemori *AUDX²Mm*: nemoris *X²*.

671. gravidæ dantur *AUXm*: dantur gravidæ *DM.* fecundior
AUDMm²: felicior *Xm²*.

672. fructum *AUDMm²*: fructus *Xm²*.

674. admissos *DXMm*: amissos *AU.*

675. cum *A*: tum *U*: quam *DXMm*.

677. quartus tibi *A*: quartus ubi *U²m*(corrected): ubi quartus *DXMm²*.

678. tenent *AUDMm²*: petunt *Xm²BC²*.

- cur igitur missae vinctis ardentia taedis
 terga ferant volpes, causa docenda mihi est.
 frigida Carseolis nec olivis apta ferendis
 terra, sed ad segetes ingeniosus ager ;
 685 hac ego Pelignos, natalia rura, petebam,
 parva, sed assiduis uvida semper aquis.
 hospitis antiqui solitas intravimus aedes ;
 dempserat emeritis iam iuga Phocbus equis.
 is mihi multa quidem, sed et haec narrare solebat,
 690 unde meum praesens instrueretur opus :
 " hoc " ait " in campo " (campumque ostendit) " habebat
 rus breve cum duro parca colona viro.
 ille suam peragebat humum, sive usus aratri
 seu curvae falcis sive bidentis erat.
 695 haec modo verrebat stantem tibicine villam,
 nunc matris plumis ova fovenda dabat,
 aut virides malvas aut fungos colligit albos,
 aut humilem grato calfacit igne focum.
 et tamen assiduis exercet brachia telis
 700 adversusque minas frigoris arma parat.
 filius huius erat primo lascivus in aevo
 addideratque annos ad duo lustra duos.
 is capit extremi volpem convalle salicti :
 abstulerat multas illa cohortis aves.
 705 captivam stipula faenoque involvit et ignes
 admovet : urentes effugit illa manus :
 qua fugit, incendit vestitos messibus agros ;
 damnosis vires ignibus aura dabat.
 factum abiit, monumenta manent ; nam dicere certa
 710 nunc quoque lex volpem Carseolana vetat ;

681. vinctis *UDXm*¹ : iunctis *Mm*¹ : victis *A*.

682. mihi est *AUDX²m*¹ : mihi (*without* est) *X¹m*¹*C*⁵.

683. carseolis *AUDX²Mm*¹ : pars eoli *X¹m*¹ : carseoli *Heinsius*, *m*¹.

685. hac *ADX²Mm*¹ : haec *U* : hinc *X²m*¹. pelignos *ADXMm* : pelignus *U*.

686. uvida *as a variant in one MS. (preferred by Heinsius)* : obvia *ADm*¹ and many *S* : humida *UXMm*¹. 687. solitas *AUDMm* : fidas *X*.

692. duro *AUDXMm*¹ : vestro *m*¹. 693. ille *AUDM* : illa *X*.

695. haec *UDXMm* : hoc *A*. verrebat *AUXMm* : vertebat *D⁵* : texebat *a few S*. stantem tibicine villam *UXm*¹ : stante tibicine villam

A : stantem tibicine telam *D* : raro tibicine pratum *Mm*¹ : stanti tibicine pratum *B⁵* : raro cum pectine pratum *S* : raro cum pectine telam *S*.

697. malvas *AUXMm* : malulas *D*.

699. telis *A¹UDXM* : tellis *m* : tedis *A¹*.

team in its separate stall. I must therefore explain the reason why foxes are let loose with torches tied to their burning backs. The land of Carseoli is cold and not suited for the growth of olives, but the soil is well adapted for corn. By it I journeyed on my way to the Pelignian land, my native country, a country small but always moist with never-failing water. There I entered, as usual, the house of an old host; Phoebus had already unyoked his spent steeds. My host was wont to tell me many things, and among them matters which were to be embodied in my present work. "In yonder plain," said he, and he pointed it out, "a thrifty countrywoman had a small croft, she and her sturdy spouse. He tilled his own land, whether the work called for the plough, or the curved sickle, or the hoe. She would now sweep the cottage, supported on props; now she would set the eggs to be hatched under the plumage of the brooding hen; or she gathered green mallows or white mushrooms, or warmed the low hearth with welcome fire. And yet she diligently employed her hands at the loom, and armed herself against the threats of winter. She had a son, in childhood frolicsome, who now had seen twice five years and two more. He in a valley at the end of a willow copse caught a vixen fox which had carried off many farmyard fowls. The captive brute he wrapped in straw and hay, and set a light to her; she escaped the hands that would have burned her. Where she fled, she set fire to the crops that clothed the fields, and a breeze fanned the devouring flames. The incident is forgotten, but a memorial of it survives; for to this day a certain law of Carseoli forbids to name a fox;

700. adversusque *AUDX¹M¹m*: adversumque *M¹* and a few *S*.

703. convalle *Mm¹*: convolle *A*: in convalle *Dm¹*: sub valle *U*: de valle *Xm¹*.

705. stipula *ADXM¹m*: stipulis *U*.

706. admovet *ADXMm*: ammovet *U*.
urentis *AUDX¹Mm*:
urentis *X¹*.

709. dicere *ADXMm¹* and apparently most *MSS.*: vivere *Um¹* and a few *S*. certam *ADX¹Mm¹* and apparently most *MSS.*: capta *U*: captam *m¹*: cautam *X¹m¹*. The reading in the text appears to be that of the great majority of the *MSS.*; except that they read certam or certā (so *AX¹M*) for certa, so that the correction (certa for certā) is very slight. Critics, not understanding dicere, have corrupted the text in various ways in the attempt to emend it. Thus de cruce curtam *Merkel¹* (with the additional corruption of necat for vetat in line 710): deicere captam *Merkel¹*: incendere captam *Postgate*: namque urere captam *Huelsen*. With certa lex compare *Fasti*, v. 65 sq. "certis legibus."

710. vetat *AUDXMm*: vocat one *S*: necat *Merkel¹*.

utque luat poenas gens haec Cerialibus ardet,
quoque modo segetes perdidit, ipsa perit."

Proxima cum veniet terras visura patentes
Memnonis in roseis lutea mater equis,
715 de duce lanigeri pecoris, qui prodidit Hellen,
sol abit : egresso victima maior adest.
vacca sit an taurus, non est cognoscere promptum :
pars prior apparet, posteriora latent.
seu tamen est taurus sive est hoc femina signum,
720 lunone invita munus amoris habet.

Nox abiit, oriturque Aurora. Parilia poscor :
non poscor frustra, si favet alma Pales.
alma Pales, favcas pastoria sacra canenti,
prosequor officio si tua festa meo.
725 certe ego de vitulo cinerem stipulasque fabalis
saepe tuli plena, februa casta, manu :
certe ego transilui positas ter in ordine flammas,
udaque roratas laurea misit aquas.
mota dea est operique favet : navalibus exit
730 puppis, habent ventos iam mea vela suos.
i, pete virginea, populus, suffimen ab ara :
Vesta dabit, Vestae munere purus cris.
sanguis equi suffimen erit vitulique favilla,
tertia res durac culmen inane fabac.
735 pastor, oves saturas ad prima crepuscula lustra :
unda prius spargat, virgaque verrat humum,

711. gens haec *AUDm*¹ : genus hoc *XMM*³*C*⁵. cerialibus *A* :
cercalibus UDXMm.

713. proxima *ADXMm* : postera *U and three* *5*. patentes *ADXMm* :
nitentes *U and two* *5*.

715. pecoris *UDXMm* : pecudis *AS*. prodidit *Am*¹*B*⁵ : perdidit
*U³DXMm*⁵.

716. sol abit *DXMm* : solebat *A* : sole bis *U*.

719. est hoc *AUXM* : hoc est *Dm*.

720. invita *AUDMm*¹ : invisa *Xm*³. munus *AUDX¹Mm*¹ : nomen
*X²m*³.

721. parilia *AU* : palilia *DXMm and most MSS*.

722. favet *AUDXMm*² : valet *m*¹.

723. sacra *ADXMm* : signa *U*.

724. prosequor *ADXMm* : prosequar *U*. festa *Xm*¹ *and many* *5* :
facta *AUDMm*². meo *AUDX¹Mm*¹ : pio *X²m*³.

725. stipulasque fabales *UXM*¹*m*¹ : stipulamque fabalem *DM*¹*m*³ : stipu-
lamque fabalis *A*.

and to punish the species a fox is burned at the festival of Ceres, thus perishing itself in the way it destroyed the crops."

XII. KAL. 20th.

When next day Memnon's saffron-robed mother on her rosy steeds shall come to view the far-spread lands, the sun departs from the sign of the leader of the woolly flock, the 5 ram which betrayed Helle; and when he has passed out of that sign, a larger victim meets him. Whether that victim is a cow or a bull, it is not easy to know; the fore part is visible, the hinder part is hid. But whether the sign be a bull or a cow, it enjoys this reward of love against the will 10 of Juno.

XI. KAL. 21st.

The night has gone, and Dawn comes up. I am called upon to sing of the Parilia, and not in vain shall be the call, if kindly Pales favours me. O kindly Pales, favour me when I sing of pastoral rites, if I pay my respects to thy festival. 15 Sure it is that I have often brought with full hands the ashes of the calf and the beanstraws, chaste means of expiation. Sure it is that I have leaped over the flames ranged three in a row, and the moist laurel-bough has sprinkled water on me. The goddess is moved and favours the work I have in 20 hand. My bark is launched; now fair winds fill my sails.

Ye people, go fetch materials for fumigation from the Virgin's altar. Vesta will give them; by Vesta's gift ye shall be pure. The materials for fumigation will be the blood of a horse and the ashes of a calf; the third thing will 25 be the empty stalks of hard beans. Shepherd, do thou purify thy well-fed sheep at fall of twilight; first sprinkle the ground

726. februa *DXMm*: februa *A*: fercula *U*. casta *X¹M¹m²5*:
tosta *AUDX²M²m¹* and apparently most MSS.

728. udaeque *AUDLn*: virgaque *X*. roratas *UC5*: rorales *A*:
rorantes *X*: rorales *DMm*(corrected).

729. exit *AUDXm*: exi *Heinsius* (reading tua for mea in line 730).

730. mea *AUDX²Mm¹*: tua *X¹m²*.

731. populus *UMm¹*: populus *DXm²*: populos *A*: populo 5. suffi-
men *AUDM*: suffulmen *X*(with 1 erased)m.

732. purus *AUDXm*: tutus *BC5*. cris *UDXm*(corrected):
erit *A*.

735. lustra *ADMM²BC* and many 5: lustrat *UXm¹5*: lustrat 5.

736. unda *AUDXm*: uda one 5.

- frondibus et fixis decorentur ovilia ramis,
 et tegat ornatas longa corona fores.
 caerulei fiant puro de sulphure fumi,
 740 tactaque fumanti sulphure balet ovis.
 ure mares oleas taedamque herbasque Sabinas,
 et crepet in mediis laurus adusta focis.
 libaque de milio milii fiscella sequatur :
 rustica praecipue est hoc dea laeta cibo.
 745 adde dapes mulctramque suas, dapibusque resectis
 silvicolam tepido lacte precare Palem.
 " consule " dic " pecori pariter pecorisque magistris :
 effugiat stabulis noxa repulsa meis.
 sive sacro pavi sedive sub arbore sacra,
 750 pabulaque e bustis inscia carpsit ovis :
 si nemus intravi vetitum, nostrisve fugatae
 sunt oculis nymphae semicaperque deus :
 si mea falx ramo lucum spoliavit opaco,
 unde data est aegrae fiscina frondis ovi :
 755 da veniam culpa. nec, dum degrandinet, obsit
 agresti fano supposuisse pecus,
 nec noceat turbasse lacus. ignoscite, nymphae,
 mota quod obscuras ungula fecit aquas.
 tu, dea, pro nobis fontes fontanaque placa
 760 numina, tu sparsos per nemus omne deos.
 nec Dryadas nec nos videamus labra Dianae,
 nec Faunum, medio cum premit arva die.

737. fixis *UDX¹Mm* : frixis *A*. decorentur *UDX¹Mm* : decorantur *A*.

739. puro *AUDX²Mm²* : vivo *X¹m¹*. sulphure *AUDX¹Mm*.

740. tactaque *UX¹m¹* : tectaque *ADM²m²*.

741. mares oleas *UDX²m²* : maris oleas *A* : maris rores *X²Mm¹*.
 tedamque *AUXM¹* : thaedamque *m* : tedasque *M² and a few S*.

743. fiscella *AUDM²m²* : physcola *m¹* : fiscola *Xm²*. sequatur *UDX¹Mm*
 and apparently most MSS. : sequetur *AS*.

744. est hoc dea laeta cibo *AUDM* : hoc dea laeto cibo est *X*.

745. mulctramque a few *S* : mulctramque *S* : in utramque (utranque)
AUDX¹M²m² : in utrumque (utrunque) *M²m¹C⁵*. resectis *ADX¹Mm¹* :
 relictis *U*.

746. silvicolam tepido : perhaps we should read silvicolam et tepido.
 palem *XMm⁵* : palen *U* : palē *D* : palam *A*.

748. effugiat *AUDM* : et fugiat *Xm*. stabulis *UDX¹Mm* : tabulis *A*.

749. sive sacro pavi sedive sub arbore sacra *AU²M* : sive sacro pavisse diu
 sub robore sacra *U¹* (so *G. L. Laing reads, doubtless rightly*) : sive sacra pavi
 sedive sub arbore sacra *Xm*. 750. e *AUX²Mm¹* : in *DX²m²*.

751. si *AU¹DX¹Mm* : seu *U²*. nostrisve *UM* : nostrisvac *A* : nostris-
 que *DX²m²BC⁵*.

- pelle procul morbos ; valeant hominesque gregesque,
 et valeant vigiles, provida turba, canes.
 765 neve minus multos redigam, quam mane fuerunt,
 neve gemam referens vellera rapta lupo.
 absit iniqua fames : herbae frondesque supersint,
 quaeque lavent artus quaeque bibantur aquae.
 ubera plena premam, referat mihi caseus aera,
 770 dentque viam liquido vimina rara sero.
 sitque salax aries, conceptaque semina coniunx
 reddat, et in stabulo multa sit agna meo.
 lanaque proveniat nullas laesura puellas,
 mollis et ad teneras quamlibet apta manus.
 775 quae precor eveniant, et nos faciemus ad annum
 pastorum dominae grandia liba Pali."
 his dea placanda est : haec tu conversus ad ortus
 dic quater et vivo perluce rore manus.
 tum licet adposita, veluti cratere, camella
 780 lac niveum potes purpureamque sapam ;
 moxque per ardentes stipulae crepitantis acervos
 traicias celeri strenua membra pede.
 expositus mos est : moris mihi restat origo :
 turba facit dubium coeptaque nostra tenet.
 785 omnia purgat edax ignis vitiumque metallis
 excoquit : idcirco cum duce purgat ovis.
 an, quia cunctarum contraria semina rerum
 sunt duo discordes, ignis et unda, dei,
 iunxerunt elementa patres aptumque putarunt
 790 ignibus et sparsa tangere corpus aqua ?
 an, quod in his vitae causa est, haec perdidit exul,
 his nova fit coniunx, haec duo magna putant ?

765. multos *AXMm¹5* : multo *UDm³BC5* (*preferred by Heinsius*) : multas 5.

766. gemam referens *AUDXM³m* : gemens referam *M¹*.

768. lavent *AUXMm* : levent *D*. artus *UXMm* : arcus *A*.

769. premam *AUDMm²* : premant *m¹* : ferant *X*.

771. salax *A²(in margin)UDXM* : sallax *m* : falx *A¹*.

772. stabulo . . . meo *AUXM¹m¹* : stabulis . . . meis *DM³m³*.

774. quamlibet *ADXm¹* : quaslibet *Um³5*.

775. eveniant *ADXMm* : adveniant *U*. faciemus *D* and a few 5 : faciamus *AUXMm*.

777. his *AUXMm¹* : sic *Dm³*. ortus *AUDXMm¹* : ortum *m³*.

778. perluce *AUDXM³m* : proluce *M¹*.

lies in the fields at noon. Drive far away diseases: may men and beasts be hale, and hale too the sagacious pack of watchdogs. May I drive home my flocks as numerous as they were at morn, nor sigh as I bring back fleeces snatched from the wolf. Avert dire hunger. Let grass and leaves 5 abound, and water both to wash and drink. Full udders may I milk; may my cheese bring me in money; may the sieve of wickerwork give passage to the liquid whey; lustful be the ram, and may his mate conceive and bear, and many a lamb be in my fold. And let the wool grow so soft that it could 10 not fret the skin of girls nor chafe the tenderest hands. May my prayer be granted, and we will year by year make great cakes for Pales, the shepherds' mistress." With these things is the goddess to be propitiated; these words pronounce four times, facing the east, and wash thy hands in living dew. 15 Then mayest thou set a wooden bowl to serve as mixer, and mayest quaff the snow-white milk and purple must; anon leap with nimble foot and straining thews across the burning heaps of crackling straw.

I have set forth the custom; it remains for me to tell its 20 origin. The multitude of explanations creates a doubt and thwarts me at the outset. Devouring fire purges all things and melts the dross from out the metals; therefore it purges the shepherd and the sheep. Or are we to suppose that, because all things are composed of opposite principles, fire 25 and water—those two discordant deities—therefore our fathers did conjoin these elements and thought meet to touch the body with fire and sprinkled water? Or did they deem these two important because they contain the source of life, the exile loses the use of them, and by them the bride is made 30

779. tum *DXm*²: dum *AUMm*¹. adposita *A*: apposita *UDXMm*.
camella *AUDMm*¹: camilla *Xm*².

780. niveum *AUDMm*¹: mixtum *Xm*². 781. per *ADXMm*: fac *U*.

782. traicias *DXM*: tratias *A*: traiciat *U*. membra *ADXMm*;
turba *Us*.

783. restat *A*(corrected)*DXMm*: prestat *U*.

785. purgat *UDXMm*: pergat *A*. metallis *AUDXm*¹: metalli *Mm*².

786. idcirco *AUDMm*: iccirco *X*. ovis *A*: oves *UDXMm*.

787. an *AUDX¹Mm*¹: aut *X²m*². contraria *AUDX¹Mm*²: discordia
X²: concordia *m*¹. 788, 789. These two lines are wanting in *m*.

788. dei *UDXMm*: diae *A*.

789. aptumque *UDXMm*: artumque *A*.

791. an *AUDX¹Mm*: aut *X²*. 792. putant *UDXMm*: putat *A*.

- vix equidem credo : sunt qui Phaëthonta referri
credant et nimias Deucalionis aquas.
795 pars quoque, cum saxis pastores saxa feribant,
scintillam subito prosiluisse ferunt ;
prima quidem periit, stipulis excepta secunda est :
hoc argumentum flamma Parilis habet ?
an magis hunc morem pietas Aeneia fecit,
800 innocuum victo cui dedit ignis iter ?
num tamen est vero propius, cum condita Roma est,
transferri iussos in nova tecta Lares
mutantesque domum tectis agrestibus ignem
et cessaturae supposuisse casae,
805 per flammam saluisse pecus, saluisse colonos ?
quod fit natali nunc quoque, Roma, tuo.

- Ipse locus causas vati facit. urbis origo
venit. ades factis, magne Quirine, tuis !
iam lucrat poenas frater Numitoris, et omne
810 pastorum gemino sub duce volgus erat.
contrahere agrestes et moenia ponere utrique
convenit : ambigitur, moenia ponat uter.
" nil opus est " dixit " certamine " Romulus " ullo :
magna fides avium est, experiamur aves."
815 res placet. alter adit nemorosi saxa Palati,
alter Aventinum mane cacumen init.
sex Remus, hic volucres bis sex videt ordine. pacto
statur, et arbitrium Romulus urbis habet.
apta dies legitur, qua moenia signet aratro.
820 sacra Palis suberant : inde movetur opus.
fossa fit ad solidum, fruges iaciuntur in ima
et de vicino terra petita solo.

795. feribant *UM¹m¹BC* and many *5* : ferebant *A* : ferirent *DXM¹m¹* : perirent *m¹* : terebant *Heinsius*.

797. stipulis *A¹UDX¹Mm* : stipulas *A¹* : stimulis *X¹*.

798. parilis *AUm¹* : palilis *DXMm¹* and most *MSS*.

800. victo *AUDX¹Mm¹* : victo *X¹m¹* : victor *Postgate*.

801. num *D* : nunc *Am¹* : hoc *U(in erasure)XMm¹*. condita *AUDXMm¹* : cognita *m¹*. 802. iussos *AUDXM¹m* : visum est *M¹*.

803. domum *AUDXM¹m* : domos *M¹*. ignem *UDXMm* : ignes *A*.

804. supposuisse *AUXM¹m* : subposuisse *D* : supposuere *M¹*.

807. ipse locus causas (*in erasure*) vati facit *U5* : ipse locum casus vati facit *ADM* : ipse locum vati casus facit *Xm¹BC5*.

808. factis *AUDXMm¹* : sacris *m¹*. 812. convenit *AUD¹XMm* : contigit *D¹*.

815. init *AUDXMm* : adit *C* and a few *5*.

a wife ? Some suppose (though I can hardly do so) that the allusion is to Phaethon and Deucalion's flood. Some people also say that when shepherds were knocking stones together, a spark suddenly leaped forth ; the first indeed was lost, but the second was caught in straw ; is that the reason of the flame at the Parilia ? Or is the custom rather based on the piety of Aeneas, whom, even in the hour of defeat, the fire allowed to pass unscathed ? Or is it haply nearer the truth that, when Rome was founded, orders were given to transfer the household gods to the new houses, and in changing homes the husbandmen set fire to their country houses and to the cottages they were about to abandon, and that they and their cattle leaped through the flames ? Which happens even to the present time on the birthday of Rome.

The subject of itself furnishes a theme for the poet. We have arrived at the foundation of the city. Great Quirinus, help me to sing thy deeds. Already the brother of Numitor had suffered punishment, and all the shepherd folk were subject to the twins. The twins agreed to draw the swains together and found a city ; the doubt was which of the two should found it. Romulus said, " There needs no contest. Great faith is put in birds ; let's try the birds." The proposal was accepted. One of the two betook him to the rocks of the wooded Palatine ; the other hied at morn to the top of the Aventine. Remus saw six birds ; Romulus saw twice six, one after the other : they stood by their compact, and Romulus was accorded the government of the city. A suitable day was chosen on which he should mark out the line of the walls with the plough. The festival of Pales was at hand ; on that day the work began. A trench was dug down to the solid rock ; fruits of the earth were thrown into the bottom of it, and with them earth fetched from the neighbouring soil. The

816. init *AUDXMM* : adit *C* and a few *S*.

817. ordine *AUDXMM* : omine Bentley (approved by Ehwald), *E. H. Alton* (Classical Review, xxxii. (1918) p. 61). But the MS. reading ordine is supported by " ter in ordine " in Fasti, iv. 727, vi. 155. pacto *AUXMM* : facto *Dm* : frater some *S*.

819. qua *AUDXMM* : quo one *S* : quae a few *S*.

820. palis *UXMM* : pales *ADm*.

821. solidum *A¹UXMM* : solitum *A³Dm*. ima *AUXMM* : una *D* : imam *m*.

- fossa repletur humo, plenaque imponitur ara,
 et novus accenso fungitur igne focus.
 825 inde premens stivam designat moenia sulco ;
 alba iugum niveo cum bove vacca tulit.
 vox fuit haec regis : " condenti, Iuppiter, urbem
 et genitor Mavors Vestaque mater, ades ;
 quosque pium est adhibere deos, advertite cuncti.
 830 auspicibus vobis hoc mihi surgat opus.
 longa sit huic aetas dominaeque potentia terrae,
 sitque sub hac oriens occiduusque dies."
 ille precabatur, tonitru dedit omina laevo
 Iuppiter, et laevo fulmina missa polo.
 835 augurio laeti iaciunt fundamina cives,
 et novus exiguo tempore murus erat.
 hoc Celer urget opus, quem Romulus ipse vocarat,
 " sint," que " Celer, curae " dixerat " ista tuae,
 neve quis aut muros aut factam vomere fossam
 840 transeat : audentem talia dede neci."
 quod Remus ignorans humiles contemnere muros
 coepit et " his populus " dicere " tutus erit ? "
 nec mora, transiluit. rutro Celer occupat ausum ;
 ille premit duram sanguinolentus humum.
 845 haec ubi rex didicit, lacrimas introrsus obortas
 devorat et clausum pectore vulnus habet.
 flere palam non volt exemplaue fortia servat,
 " sic " que " meos muros transeat hostis " ait.
 dat tamen exequias nec iam suspendere fletum
 850 sustinet, et pietas dissimulata patet ;
 osculaque adplicuit posito suprema feretro
 atque ait " invito frater adempte, vale ! "

823. plenaque *AU¹D²XAm* : terraeque *U²* : fossaeque *D²*. imponi-
 tur ara *AU²XAm* : inponitur ara *D* : imponunt laena^{ae} *U¹*.

824. novus *UDXAm* : novos *A*. fungitur *Dm²* : finditur *AUXm²BC*
 and many *S* : funditur *Mm¹S* : fingitur *five S*.

825. inde *AUDMm¹* : unde *Xm²*.

827. regis *ADXAm* : regi *U*. condenti *AUDXAm²* : contendit *m¹*.

828. ades *AUDXAm²* : adest *m¹*.

830. mihi *AUDXAm²* : modo *M¹*.

831. dominaeque *ADXAm* : domitaeque *U* and three *S*.

832. sitque *AU¹XAm* : atque *D*.

833. laevo *U¹* : levo *ADXAm¹* : laeto *M²*.

834. laevo *AU¹* : levo *DXAm*

trench was filled up with mould, and on the top was set an altar, and a fire was duly lit on a new hearth. Then pressing on the plough-handle he drew a furrow to mark out the line of the walls: the yoke was borne by a white cow and snow-white steer. The king spoke thus: "O Jupiter, and Father 5 Mavors, and Mother Vesta, stand by me as I found the city! O take heed, all ye gods whom piety bids summon! Under your auspices may this my fabric rise! May this imperial country long endure and its dominion! May East and West be subject unto it!" So he prayed. Jupiter vouchsafed omens 10 by thunder on the left and lightnings flashing in the leftward sky. Glad at the augury, the citizens laid the foundations; and in a short time the new wall stood. The work was urged on by Celer, whom Romulus himself had named and said, "Celer, be this thy care; let no man cross the walls nor the 15 trench which the share hath made: who dares to do so, put him to death." Ignorant of this, Remus began to mock the lowly walls and say, "Shall these protect the people?" And straightway he leaped across them. Instantly Celer struck the rash man with a shovel. Covered with blood, 20 Remus sank on the stony ground. When the king heard of this, he smothered the springing tears and kept his grief locked up within his breast. He would not weep in public; he set an example of fortitude, and "So fare," quoth he, "the foe who shall cross my walls." Yet he granted funeral 25 honours, and could no longer bear to check his tears, and the affection which he had dissembled was plain to see. When they set down the bier, he gave it a last kiss, and said, "Snatched from thy brother, loath to part, brother, farewell!"

835. augurio *AUDM*¹: auspicio *X²m*²: audito *X¹m*². iaciunt *AUDXM*: faciunt *m*.

836. exiguo *UDXM*: exiguus *A*.

837. vocarat *A²UDXM*: vocavit *A¹*.

839. aut muros *UDX¹m*: ad muros *A*. factam vomere fossam *AUXM*: fractam vomere terram *D* and two *S*.

842. et *DXM²m*¹: in *AUM¹m*².

843. rutro *Heinsius*: retro *AUDM*¹*m*: rastro *M*²: ultro some *S*; remus *X*.

844. duram *DXM*²*m*²: diram *AUM*²: puram *m*¹ and a few *S*.

845. didicuit *UDXM**m*: decidit *A*. obortas *UDXM**m*: abortas *AS*.

847. palam *AUDX²Mm*¹: tamen *X¹m*².

848. muros *UDXM**m*: mores *A*.

851. adplicuit *A*: applicuit *UDM*²*m*²: apposituit *Xm*¹. suprema *U* (corrected) *Mm*²: suprema *D*: supremo *A*: postrema *Xm*¹.

- arsurosque artus unxit. fecere, quod ille,
 Faustulus et maestas Acca soluta comas.
 855 tum iuvenem nondum facti flevire Quirites ;
 ultima plorato subdita flamma rogo est.
 urbs oritur (quis tunc hoc ulli credere posset ?)
 victorem terris impositura pedem.
 cuncta regas et sis magno sub Caesare semper,
 860 saepe etiam pluris nominis huius habe ;
 et quotiens steteris domito sublimis in orbe,
 omnia sint humeris inferiora tuis.

- Dicta Pales nobis, idem Vinalia dicam ;
 una tamen media est inter utramque dies.
 865 numina volgares Veneris celebrate puellae :
 multa professorum quaestibus apta Venus.
 poscite ture dato formam populi que favorem,
 poscite blanditias dignaque verba ioco,
 cumque sua dominae date grata sisymbria myrto
 870 tectaque composita iuncea vincla rosa.
 templa frequentari Collinae proxima portae
 nunc decet, a Siculo nomina colle tenent ;
 utque Syracusas Arethusidas abstulit armis
 Claudius et bello te quoque cepit, Eryx,
 875 carmine vivacis Venus est translata Sibyllae,
 inque suae stirpis maluit urbe coli.
 cur igitur Veneris festum Vinalia dicant,
 quaeritis, et quare sit Iovis ista dies ?
 Turnus an Aeneas Latiae gener esset Amatae,
 880 bellum erat : Etruscas Turnus adorat opes.
 clarus erat sumptisque ferox Mezentius armis
 et vel equo magnus vel pede maior erat ;

853. unxit *UDXMm* : iunxit (or vinxit) *A⁵*.

855. tum iuvenem *AUDXMm¹* : tunc iuvenes *m²*.

857. hoc *AUXMm* : haec *D*. ulli *ADMm²* ; illi *UXm¹*.

860. pluris *AU* : plures *DXMm*. habe *AUDXM* : habet *m*.

863. pales *UDXMm* : palis *A*. nobis *AUXMm* : michi *D* (dicta michi pales).

864. utramque *Adm¹* : utranque *M* : utrumque *Um²* : utrunque *X*.

865. numina *A²UDXMm* : nomina *A¹*. volgares *Am* : vulgares *UDXM* : vulgaris *H. Peter*.

866. multa *AUDXMm* : culta *Heinsius, Riese*. venus *AUDXMm* : dabit or feret *E. H. Alton* (Hermathena, xliii. (1922) p. 289).

With that he anointed the body before committing it to the flames. Faustus and Acca, her mournful hair unbound, did the same. Then the Quirites, though not yet known by that name, wept for the youth, and last of all a light was put to the pyre, wet with their tears. A city arose destined to set its victorious foot upon the neck of the whole earth ; who at that time could have believed in such a prophecy ? Rule the universe, O Rome, and mayest thou ever be subject to great Caesar, and mayest thou often have several of that name, and whensoever thou standest sublime in a conquered world, may all else reach not up to thy shoulders !

IX. KAL. 23rd.

I have told of Pales, I will now tell of the festival of the Vinalia ; but there is one day interposed between the two. Ye common wenches, celebrate the divinity of Venus : Venus favours the earnings of ladies of a liberal profession. Offer incense and pray for beauty and popular favour ; pray to be charming and witty ; give to the Queen her own myrtle and the mint she loves, and bands of rushes hid in clustered roses. Now is the time to throng her temple next the Colline gate ; the temple takes its name from the Sicilian hill. When Claudius carried Arethusian Syracuse by force of arms, and captured thee, too, Eryx, in war, Venus was transferred to Rome in obedience to an oracle of the long-lived Sibyl, and chose to be worshipped in the city of her own offspring. You ask, Why then do they call the Vinalia a festival of Venus ? And why does that day belong to Jupiter ? There was war to decide whether Turnus or Aeneas should be the husband of Latin Amata's daughter : Turnus sued the help of the Etruscans. Mezentius was famous and a haughty man-at-arms ; mighty was he on horseback, but mightier still

868. ioco *ADXMm* : loco *U* and a few *S*.

870. tectaque *AUXMm*¹ : tectaque *Dm*¹.

872. nomina *UDXMm* : nomine *A*.

873. utque *AUDMm* : nanque *X*².

syracusias U.

tenent *m*²*S* : tenet *AUDXMm*¹.

syracusas (*siracusas*) *ADXMm* :

877. veneris festum *AUX* : festum veneris *DMm*.

878. ista *ADXMm* : iste *U*.

880. adorat *AUDX²Mm*¹ : adoptat *X¹m*².

- quem Rutuli Turnusque suis adsciscere temptat
 partibus. haec contra dux ita Tuscus ait :
 885 " stat mihi non parvo virtus mea : volnera testor
 armaque, quae sparsi sanguine saepe meo.
 qui petis auxilium, non grandia divide mecum
 praemia, de lacubus proxima musta tuis.
 nulla mora est operae : vestrum est dare, vincere nostrum.
 890 quam velit Aeneas ista negata mihi ! "
 adnuerant Rutuli. Mezentius induit arma,
 induit Aeneas alloquiturque Iovem :
 " hostica Tyrrheno vota est vindemia regi :
 Iuppiter, e Latio palmite musta feres ! "
 895 vota valent meliora. cadit Mezentius ingens
 atque indignanti pectore plangit humum.
 venerat Autumnus calcatis sordidus uvis :
 redduntur merito debita vina Iovi.
 dicta dies hinc est Vinalia : Iuppiter illam
 900 vindicat et festis gaudet inesse suis. *

- Sex ubi, quae restant, luces Aprilis habebit,
 in medio cursu tempora v̄ris erunt,
 et frustra pecudem quacres Athamantidos Helles,
 signaque dant imbres, exoriturque Canis.
 905 hac mihi Nomento Romam cum luce redirem,
 obstitit in media candida turba via.
 flamen in antiquae lucum Robiginis ibat,
 exta canis flammis, exta daturus ovis.
 protinus accessi, ritus ne nescius essem :
 910 edidit haec flamen verba, Quirine, tuus :

883. rutuli *UDXMM*³ : rutulis *A* : rutulus *m*¹⁵. adsciscere *AM* :
 asciscere *UDXm*³ : accessere *m*¹⁵. temptat *AD* : temptant *UXm* :
 tentant *M*.

884. haec *AUMm*¹ : hoc *D* : hos *Xm*³.

885. mihi *AUDMm* : mea *X*.

887. non grandia *AUDX³M* : nunc gaudia *X¹m*³.

889. vestrum est dare *A³UDXMM* : nostrum est dare *A*¹. vincere
 nostrum *AUXM* : vincere nostrum est *Dm*.

890. ista *ADXMM* : ille *U* : illa *one or two* *S*.

891. adnuerant *A* : annuerant *UDXMM*.

892. *This line is wanting in A ; no sign of a lacuna.* alloquitur
UDXMM : adloquitur *Burman, Peter³, Ekwald-Levy*.

894. e *UDXMM* : et *A*. musta *UDXMM* : masta *A*. feres
UDXMM : feras *A*.

on foot. Turnus and the Rutulians attempted to win him to their side. To these overtures the Tuscan chief thus replied : " My valour costs me dear. Witness my wounds and those weapons which oft I have bedabbled with my blood. You ask my help : divide with me the next new wine from your 5 vats—surely no great reward. Delay there need be none : 'tis yours to give, and mine to conquer. How would Aeneas wish you had refused my suit ! " The Rutulians consented. Mezentius donned his arms, Aeneas donned them too, and thus he spoke to Jupiter. " The foe has pledged his vintage 10 to the Tyrrhenian king ; Jupiter, thou shalt have the new wine from the Latin vines." The better vows prevailed : huge Mezentius fell, and with his breast indignant smote the ground. Autumn came round, stained with the trodden grapes ; the wine that was his due was justly paid to Jupiter. 15 Hence the day is called the Vinalia : Jupiter claims it for his own, and loves to be present at his own feast.

VII. KAL. 25th.

When April shall have six days left, the season of spring will be in mid course, and in vain will you look for the ram of Helle, daughter of Athamas ; the rains will be your sign, 20 and the constellation of the Dog will rise.

On that day, as I was returning from Nomentum to Rome, a white-robed crowd blocked the middle of the road. A flamen was on his way to the grove of ancient Mildew (*Robigo*), to throw the entrails of a dog and the entrails of 25 a sheep into the flames. Straightway I went up to him to inform myself of the rite. Thy flamen, O Quirinus,

896. plangit *AU³DXMm* : tangit *U¹*.

897. sordidus *U³XMm³* : sordibus *Dm¹* : horridus *AU¹*.

898. vina *AUDXMm¹* : vota *m¹*.

899. illam *UXMm¹5* : illa *ADm³*.

900. vindicat *AU¹* : vendicat *U³DXMm*.

901. restant *AU³DXMm¹* : restat *U¹* : restent *m³*.

905. nomento romam *UDXMm* : nomen coronam *A*.

906. turba *AUDMm³* : pompa *Xm¹*. Compare *Tibullus* ii. 1. 16 " Candida turba."

907. antiquae *AUXM³m* : antiquum *DM¹*. robiginis *A* and a few 5 :
robiginis *UDXMm* and most MSS.

909. ritus *AUDX³Mm¹* : veritus *X¹m¹*.

- " aspera Robigo, parcas Cerialibus herbis,
 et tremat in summa leve cacumen humo.
 tu sata sideribus caeli nutrita secundis
 crescere, dum fiant falcibus apta, sinas.
 915 vis tua non levis est : quae tu frumenta notasti,
 maestus in amissis illa colonus habet.
 nec venti tantum Cereri nocuere nec imbres,
 nec sic marmoreo pallet adusta gelu,
 quantum, si culmos Titan incalfacit udos :
 920 tunc locus est irae, diva timenda, tuae.
 parce, precor, scabrasque manus a messibus aufer
 neve noce cultis : posse nocere sat est.
 nec teneras segetes, sed durum amplectere ferrum,
 quodque potest alios perdere, perde prior.
 925 utilius gladios et tela nocentia carpes :
 nil opus est illis, otia mundus agit.
 sarcula nunc durusque bidens et vomer aduncus,
 ruris opes, nitcant ; inquinet arma situs,
 conatusque aliquis vagina ducere ferrum
 930 adstrictum longa sentiat esse mora.
 at tu ne viola Cererem, semperque colonus
 absenti possit solvere vota tibi."
 dixerat : a dextra villis mantele solutis
 cumque meri patera turis acerra fuit.
 935 tura focus vinumque dedit fibrasque bidentis
 turpiaque obscenae (vidimus) exta canis.
 tum mihi " cur detur sacris nova victima, quaeris ? "
 (quaesieram) " causam percipe " flamen ait.
 " est Canis, Icarium dicunt, quo sidere moto
 940 tosta sitit tellus, praecipiturque seges.

911. robigo *A* : rubigo *UDXMm*. cerialibus *A* : cerealibus *UDXMm*.

912. tremat *U²DXM¹m* : premat *AU²M²BC⁵*. leve *X⁵*. lene *AUDMm*.

913. nutrita secundis *UDXMm¹* : nutritas et undi *A¹* : nutritas et secundi *A¹*.

914. falcibus *UDXMm* : faucibus *A*.

915. tu *AUDXM²m* : cum *M¹*.

918. sic *AUDXM* : si *m*.

920. tunc *AUDXMm²* : tum *m¹*.

921. scabrasque *UDXMm* : capreasque *A*.

924. alios *AU²DXMm* : aliud *U¹*. prior *AU* : prius *m²5* : precor *DXMm¹BS*.

925. utilius *UDXMm* : utilior *A*.

926. otia *UDXMm* : obstia *A*. agit *AUXMm¹* : agat *Dm²*.

pronounced these words: "Thou scaly Mildew, spare the sprouting corn, and let the smooth top quiver on the surface of the ground. O let the crops, nursed by the heaven's propitious stars, grow till they are ripe for the sickle. No feeble power is thine: the corn on which thou hast set thy mark, the sad husbandman gives up for lost. Nor winds, nor showers, nor glistening frost, that nips the fallow corn, harm it so much as when the sun warms the wet stalks; then, dread goddess, is the hour to wreak thy wrath. O spare, I pray, and take thy scabby hands from off the harvest! Harm not the tilth; 'tis enough that thou hast the power to harm. Grip not the tender crops, but rather grip the hard iron. Forestall the destroyer. Better that thou shouldst gnaw at swords and baneful weapons. There is no need of them: the world is at peace. Now let the rustic gear, the rakes, and the hard hoe, and the curved share be burnished bright; but let rust defile the arms, and when one essays to draw the sword from the scabbard, let him feel it stick from long disuse. But do not thou profane the corn, and ever may the husbandman be able to pay his vows to thee in thine absence." So he spoke. On his right hand hung a napkin with a loose nap, and he had a bowl of wine and a casket of incense. The incense, and wine, and sheep's guts, and the foul entrails of a filthy dog, he put upon the hearth—we saw him do it. Then to me he said, "Thou askest why an unwonted victim is assigned to these rites?" Indeed, I had asked the question. "Learn the cause," the flamen said. "There is a Dog (they call it the Icarian dog), and when that constellation rises the earth is parched and dry, and the crop ripens too soon. This dog is put

927. *bidens* *UDXMM*: *bibens* *A*

928. *opes* *AU²DXMm²*: *opus* *U¹m¹*. *niteant* *AU²DX²Mm*: *niteat* *U¹*: *ineant* *X¹*.

929. *ducere* *AUX*: *educere* *DMm*.

930. *adstrictum* *A*: *astricum* *UDXMM*.

932. *absenti* *UDXMM*: *adsenti* *A*.

933. *a* *AU²DXMm*: *at* *U¹*. *mantele* *A(℘)U¹X²m²*: *mantile* *U²DX²Mm¹*.

934. *ruit* *UDXMM*: *ruit* *A*.

938. *flamen* *UDXMM*: *fulmen* *A¹*: *fulamen* *A²*.

940. *tosta* *ADXMm¹*: *tota* *Um²*. *sitit* *UXm¹*: *siti* *ADMm²*.
praecipiturque *AUDXMm¹*: *praeripiturque* *m²* and *many* *5*: *praeciditurque* *two* *5*.

pro cane sidereo canis hic imponitur arae,
et quare pereat, nil nisi nomen habet."

Cum Phrygis Assaraci Tithonia fratre relicto
sustulit inmenso ter iubar orbe suum,
945 mille venit variis florum dea nexa coronis :
scaena ioci morem liberioris habet.
exit et in Maias sacrum Florale Kalendas ;
tunc repetam, nunc me grandius urget opus.
aufer Vesta diem ! cognati Vesta recepta est
950 limine : sic iusti constituere patres.
Phoebus habet partem, Vestae pars altera cessit ;
quod superest illis, tertius ipse tenet.
state Palatinae laurus, praetextaque quercu
stet domus : aeternos tres habet una deos.

942. pereat X^1m^1 and ten or twelve other MSS. (referred to by Heinsius, who adds, "Quod verum est"): fiat $AUDX^2Mm^2$.

943. cum $UDXm$: tum AM . tithonia XM : tythonia U : titonia D : thitonia m : cithitonia A : titania ζ .

944. inmenso AD : immenso UM : immensum X .

946. morem $AUDX^2Mm^1$: nomen X^1m^2 .

947. sacrum $AUXMm$: festum DB and many ζ .

949. aufer AUm^1 : aufert $DXMm^2$: cognati $AUDXMm$ and many ζ : cognato ζ .

on the altar instead of the starry dog, and the only reason for killing him is his name."

IV. KAL. 28th.

When the spouse of Tithonus has left the brother of Phrygian Assaracus, and thrice has lifted up her radiant light in the vast firmament, there comes a goddess decked 5 with garlands of a thousand varied flowers, and the stage enjoys a customary licence of mirth. The rites of Flora also extend into the Calends of May. Then I will resume the theme : now a loftier task is laid upon me. O Vesta, take thy day ! Vesta has been received in the home of her 10 kinsman : so have the Fathers righteously decreed. Phoebus owns part of the house ; another part has been given up to Vesta ; what remains is occupied by Caesar himself. Long live the laurels of the Palatine ! Long live the house wreathed with the oaken boughs ! A single house holds 15 three eternal gods.

950. limine *UDXMM* : limina *A*. patres *AUXM¹m* : senes *DM²B5*.
 952. ipse *AUDM²* : ille *Xm¹*.
 953. quercu *ADXMM¹* : quercus *Um²*.
 954. tres *UDXMM* : tris *A*.

FASTORUM LIBER QUINTUS

LIBER QUINTUS

- Quacritis, unde putem Maio data nomina mensi ?
 non satis est liquido cognita causa mihi.
 ut stat et incertus qua sit sibi nescit eundum,
 cum videt ex omni parte viator iter :
 5 sic, quia posse datur diversas reddere causas,
 qua ferar, ignoro, copiaque ipsa nocet.
 dicite, quae fontes Aganippidos Hippocrenes
 grata Medusaci signa tenetis equi.
 dissensere deae. quarum Polyhymnia coepit
 10 . prima ; silent aliae dictaque mente notant. .
 " post chaos ut primum data sunt tria corpora mundo,
 inque novas species omne recessit opus,
 pondere terra suo subsedit et aequora traxit,
 at caelum levitas in loca summa tulit ;
 15 sol quoque cum stellis nulla gravitate retentus
 et vos lunares exiluistis equi.
 sed neque Terra diu Caelo, nec cetera Phoebo
 sidera cedebant ; par erat omnis honos.
 saepe aliquis solio, quod tu, Saturne, tenebas,
 20 ausus de media plebe sedere deus,
 nec latus Oceano quisquam deus advena iunxit,
 et Themis extremo saepe recepta loco est,
3. eundum *UDXM* : eundem *A*. 5. datur *UDXMm* : dator *A*.
 6. qua *AUXm* : quo *DMBC* and many *5*. ferar *UDXMm* : ferat
A : feror *three 5*
 7. hippocrenes *AUX³Mm¹* : hippocreontis *X¹m³* : ypocrenes *D*.
 8. grata *AUDXMm* : graia *Heinsius*. tenetis *AMm* : tenentis *UD*.
 9. polyhymnia *M²* : polymnia *UXm* : polihimnia *A*.
 10. dictaque *AUDMm²* : verbaque *Am¹*.
 12. recessit *AUDXMm*. *Perhaps we should read secessit. Compare*
Fasti, i. 107 " Ut semel haec rerum secessit lite suarum " ; id. vi. 279 " Et
 quantum a summa, tantum secessit ab imis | terra." opus *AUDXM¹m* :
 onus *M²Cs*.
 13. pondere *UDXMm* : pondera *A*.
 14. at *AUDXM* : ad *m*. tulit *UDXMm* : tenet *A*.
 16. exiluistis *UXMm* : exsiluistis *D* : exiluisti *A*. equi *UDXMm* :
 aequi *A*.

BOOK V

YOU ask whence I suppose the name of the month of May to be derived. The reason is not quite clearly known to me. As a wayfarer stands in doubt, and knows not which way to go, when he sees roads in all directions, so, because it is possible to assign different reasons, I know not where to 5 turn; the very abundance of choice is an embarrassment. Declare to me, ye who haunt the springs of Aganippian Hippocrene, those dear traces of the Medusæan steed. The goddesses disagreed; of them Polyhymnia began the first; the others were silent, and noted her sayings in their mind. 10 "After chaos, as soon as the three elements were given to the world, and the whole creation resolved itself into new species, the earth subsided by its own weight, and drew the seas after it, but the sky was borne to the highest regions by its own lightness; the sun, too, not checked by gravity, 15 and the stars, and you, ye horses of the moon, ye bounded high. But for a long time neither did Earth yield pride of place to Sky, nor did the other heavenly bodies to Phoebus; their honours were all equal. Often someone of the common sort of gods would dare to sit upon the throne which thou, 20 Saturn, didst own; not one of the upstart deities took the outer side of Ocean, and Themis was often relegated to the lowest

19. quod . . . tenebas *A¹UDXM²m*: quod . . . tenebat *A¹*: quo . . . sedebas *M¹*.

20. de media plebe *AUXMm*: de media est plebe *D*.

21. nec *ADm¹CS*: et *UXM*. latus *UDXMm*: lacus *A*. quisquam deus advena iunxit *AUDXMm²*: quisquam quando leve tegebat *m¹*. *Heinsius proposed to read Nec latus Oceano, quamvis grandaeva, tegebat | Tethys. For iunxit H. Peter reads clausit (on conjecture). If the verb had to be changed, we might read texit for uinxit: compare Horace, Sat. ii. 5. 18 "utne tegam spurco Damæ latus?" Suetonius, Claudius 24. 3 "eunti et inde reverenti latus texit."* But no change seems necessary. As to the expression latus tegere or claudere see the Commentary on Fasti, v. 67.

22. themis *M²(in margin)m¹(?)* and a few *S*: thetis *AUDXM¹m²* and most *MSS.*: tethys *m²(in margin)*. loco est *AUXMm*: loco (without est) *D*.

- donec Honor placidoque decens Reuerentia voltu
 corpora legitimis inposuere toris.
- 25 hinc sata Maiestas, quae mundum temperat omnem,
 quaque die partu est edita, magna fuit.
 nec mora, consedit medio sublimis Olympo
 aurea purpureo conspicienda sinu.
 consedere simul Pudor et Metus : omne videres
- 30 numen ad hanc voltus composuisse suos.
 protinus intravit mentes suspectus honorum :
 fit pretium dignis, nec sibi quisque placet.
 hic status in caelo multos permansit in annos,
 dum senior fati excidit arce deus.
- 35 Terra feros partus, immania monstra, Gigantas
 edidit ausuros in Iovis ire domum ;
 mille manus illis dedit et pro cruribus angues,
 atque ait ' in magnos arma movete deos.'
 extruere hi montes ad sidera summa parabant
- 40 et magnum bello sollicitare Iovem ;
 fulmina de caeli iaculatus Iuppiter arce
 vertit in auctores pondera vasta suos.
 his bene Maiestas armis defensa deorum
 restat et ex illo tempore culta manet ;
- 45 assidet inde Iovi, Iovis est fidissima custos
 et praestat sine vi sceptrum tenenda Iovi.
 venit et in terras : coluerunt Romulus illam
 et Numa, mox alii, tempore quisque suo.
 illa patres in honore pio matresque tuetur,
- 50 illa comes pueris virginibusque venit,
 illa datos fascas commendat eburque curule,
 illa coronatis alta triumphat equis."
 finierat voces Polyhymnia : dicta probarunt
 Clioque et curvae scita Thalia lyrae.

24. inposuere *AD* : inposuere *UXMm*. With this line the oldest manuscript (*A*) ends. Henceforward the principal manuscript is *U* (codex *Ursinianus*).

25. hinc *UDX³Mm* : his *X¹* quae mundum temperat omnem *UDX* (rewritten in a later hand) *Mm³* : hos est dea censa parentes *m¹*.

26. die *U³DXM* : dies *U¹*.

27. consedit *UDX³Mm* : conscendit *BCS*.

30. vultus *U³DXMm* : cultus *U¹* (preferred by *Heinsius*).

31. honorum *UDX³Mm¹* : honorem *X¹m³*.

33. hic *UDX³Mm³* : hinc *m¹*.

place, until Honour and comely Reverence with her calm look united in lawful wedlock. From that union sprang Majesty, who regulates the whole world, and who was great on the very day she was born. Without delay she took her seat high in the midst of Olympus, a golden figure far seen in 5 purple vest. With her sat Modesty and Fear. You might see every divinity modelling his aspect upon hers. Straightway respect for dignities made its way into their minds; the worthy got their due, and nobody thought much of himself. This state of things in heaven lasted for many a year, till 10 fate banished the elder god from heaven's citadel. Earth brought forth the Giants, a fierce brood, enormous monsters, who durst assault Jove's mansion; she gave them a thousand hands, and snakes for legs, and said, 'Take arms against the great gods.' They set themselves to pile up the mountains 15 to the topmost stars and to harass great Jupiter in war. From heaven's citadel Jupiter hurled thunderbolts and turned the ponderous weights upon their movers. These weapons of the gods protected Majesty well; she survived and has been worshipped ever since. Hence she sits beside 20 Jupiter, she is Jupiter's most faithful guardian; she assures to him his sceptre's peaceful tenure. She came also to earth. Romulus and Numa worshipped her, and others after them, each in his time. She keeps fathers and mothers in honour due; she bears boys and maidens company; 25 she enhances the lictor's rods and the ivory chair of office; she rides aloft in triumph on the festooned steeds."

Polyhymnia ended. Clio and Thalia, mistress of the curved lyre, approved her words. Urania took up the tale;

34. arce *UDXMm*³: arte *m*¹.

35. gigantes *Um*³: gigantes *DX*(corrected)*Mm*¹ and most MSS. Compare Fasti, iii. 439.

36. domum *UDXMm*: domos *BS*.

37. cruribus *UDXMm*: crinibus *M*³ and a few *5*: curribus *C* and one *5*.

38. movete *UXMm*³: movere *m*¹: movente *D*.

40. iovem *UDMm*³: polum *Xm*¹.

44. culta *UDMm*³: firma *XMm*¹: tuta a few *5*.

45. inde *UDMm*³: illa *XMm*¹: ipsa two *5*.

46. tenenda *Mm*¹ and apparently most MSS.: tenere *D5*: timenda *UXMm*³; tremenda two *5*.

49. pio *UXMm*¹: suo *DMm*³.

53. polyhymnia *M*³: polymnia *Um*: polimnia *X*: pollennia *M*¹.

- 55 excipit Uranie : fecere silentia cunctae,
 et vox audiri nulla nisi illa potest.
 " magna fuit quondam capitis reverentia cani,
 inque suo pretio ruga senilis erat.
 Martis opus iuvenes animosaque bella gerebant
 60 et pro dis aderant in statione suis :
 viribus illa minor nec habendis utilis armis
 consilio patriae saepe ferebat opem.
 nec nisi post annos patuit tunc curia seros,
 nomen et aetatis mite senatus erat.
 65 iura dabat populo senior, finitaque certis
 legibus est actas, unde petatur honor ;
 et medius iuvenum, non indignantibus ipsis,
 ibat et interior, si comes unus erat.
 verba quis auderet coram sene digna rubore
 70 dicere ? censuram longa senecta dabat.
 Romulus hoc vidit selectaque pectora patres
 dixit : ad hos urbis summa relata novae.
 hinc sua maiores tribuisse vocabula Maio
 tangor et aetati consuluisse suae.
 75 et Numitor dixisse potest ' da, Romule, mensem
 hunc senibus ' nec avum sustinuisse nepos.
 nec leve propositi pignus successor honoris
 Iunius, a iuvenum nomine dictus, habet."
 tunc sic, neglectos hedera redimita capillos,
 80 prima sui coepit Calliopea chori :
 " duxerat Oceanus quondam Titanida Tethyn,
 qui terram liquidis, qua patet, ambit aquis.
 hinc sata Pleione cum caelifero Atlante
 iungitur, ut fama est, Pleiadasque parit.
 85 quarum Maia suas forma superasse sorores
 traditur et summo concubuisse Iovi.

59. gerebant *UDXMM* : parabant *M*².

60. suis *DXMM* : senes *U* : sua *ouc* *S*.

61. illa *UDX²MM¹* : ille *X¹m²*.

64. erat *D¹Xm¹* : habet *UD²MM²*.

65. populo senior *UDMM* : senior populo *X* : populis senior *a few* *S*.

68. interior *UD¹M²* : anterior *XD²M¹m²* : inferior *m¹*.

71. hoc *UXMM¹* : haec *Dm²*. pectora *UDXMM¹* : corpora *M²*.

73. tribuisse *UDMM* : posuisse *X⁵*.

74. tangor et *UDXMM*. *Heinsius, Merkel, and Ehwald-Lerry note no variant in the MSS. See the Commentary, vol. iv. p. 7.*

all kept silence, and not a voice but hers could be heard. "Great was of old the reverence for the hoary head, and wrinkled eld was valued at its true worth. Martial exploits and doughty wars were work for youths, who in defence of their own gods kept watch and ward. In strength unequal, 5 and for arms unfit, age often stood the country in good stead by its advice. The senate-house was then open only to men of mature years, and the very name of senate signified a ripe old age. The elders legislated for the people, and certain laws defined the age at which office might be 10 sought. An elder man used to walk between younger men, at which they did not repine, and if he had only one companion, the elder walked on the inner side. Who would dare to talk bawdy in the presence of an old man? Old age conferred a right of censorship. This Romulus perceived, and on the 15 men of his choice he bestowed the title of Fathers: on them the government of the new city was conferred. Hence I incline to think that the elders (*maiores*) gave their own name to the month of May, and that in doing so they had their own age in view. And Numitor may have said, 'Romulus, grant 20 this month to the old men,' and the grandson may not have been able to resist his grandsire. No slight proof of the proposed honour is furnished by the next month, the month of June, which is named after young men (*iuvenes*).'" Then Calliope, her unkempt hair bound up with ivy, thus began, 25 first of her choir: "Tethys, the Titaness, was wedded of old by Ocean, who encompasses the earth, far as it stretches, with his flowing waters. Their daughter Pleione, as report has it, was united to Atlas, who upholds the sky, and she gave birth to the Pleiades. Of them Maia is said to have 30 surpassed her sisters in beauty and to have lain with sovran

76. avum *UDX²Mm*: avo *X¹*.

77. propositi *UDXm*: praepositi *M* and some *5* (preferred by Heinssus). successor *UX¹*: successit *DX²Mms*.

78. habet *U¹m¹*: adest *U²DXMm²*.

79. tunc *UDXm*: tum *M*.

81. titanida *DXM*: tythonida *U¹*: tytanida *U¹*. tethyn *U/m*: tethym *M*: thetin *DX*.

83. hinc *UD* (?) *XM¹m*: huic *M²*. atlante *Mm²*: atlante *UX*: athalante *D*: athalanthe *m¹*.

85. superasse *UDXm*: superare *M*.

- haec enixa iugo cupressiferae Cyllenes,
 aetherium volucris qui pede carpit iter.
 Arcades hunc Ladonque rapax et Maenalus ingens
 90 rite colunt, luna credita terra prior.
 exul ab Arcadia Latios Evander in agros
 venerat, impositos attuleratque deos.
 hic, ubi nunc Roma est, orbis caput, arbor et herbae
 et paucac pecudes et casa rara fuit.
 95 quo postquam ventum est, 'consistite!' praescia mater
 'nam locus imperii rus erit istud' ait.
 et matri et vati paret Nonacrius heros
 inque peregrina constitit hospes humo,
 sacraque multa quidem sed Fauni prima bicornis
 100 has docuit gentes alipedisque dei.
 semicaper, coleris cinctutis, Faune, Lupercis,
 cum lustrant celebres vellera secta vias.
 at tu materno donasti nomine menscm,
 inventor curvae, furibus apte, fidis.
 105 nec pietas haec prima tua est: septena putaris,
 Pleiādam numerum, fila dedisse lyrae."
 haec quoque desierat: laudata est voce sororum.
 quid faciam? turbac pars habet omnis idem.
 gratia Pieridum nobis aequaliter adsit,
 110 nullaue laudetur plusve minusve mihi.

- Ab Iove surgat opus. prima mihi nocte videnda
 stella est in cunas officiosa Iovis:
 nascitur Oleniae signum pluviale Capellae;
 illa dati caelum praemia lactis habet.
 115 Naïs Amalthea, Cretaea nobilis Ida,
 dicitur in silvis oculuisse Iovem.

87. iugo *UDXm*: iugo est *M*.

96. istud *UXMm*¹: illud *Dm*¹.

97. matri et vati *UDM*: vati et matri *Xm*.

98. hospes *UDXm*¹: exul *m¹CS*.

101. cinctutis *UXM¹m*¹: succinctis *DM¹m²BC* and many *S*.

102. celebres *UXm*: celeres *DMBC* and many *S*. vellera *Um*¹:
 verbera *DXM¹BC* and many *S*: tergoru two *S*. vias *UDXm*: manus
 some *S*. Heinsius conjectured cum lustrant steriles tergora (or vellera) secta
 manus.

103. nomine *UDXM¹m*: munere *M*¹.

104. curvae *UDMm*: citharae *X*. apte *UM¹m*¹: apta *DXM¹m*¹.
 fidis *UM¹m*¹: fides *DXM¹m*¹.

Jove. She on the ridge of Mount Cyllene, wooded with cypresses, gave birth to him who speeds through the air on winged foot. Him the Arcadians, and hurrying Ladon, and huge Maenalus—that land accounted older than the moon—worship with honours due. An exile from Arcadia, Evander 5 came to the Latin fields and brought his gods on shipboard. On the spot where now stands Rome, the capital of the world, there were trees, and grass, and a few sheep, and here and there a cottage. When they had come hither, ‘Halt ye,’ said his prophetic mother, ‘for that rural scene will be a place of 10 empire.’ The Nonacrian hero obeyed the prophetess his mother, and halted as a stranger in a foreign land. He taught the natives many sacred rites, but first of all the rites of two-horned Faunus and of the wing-footed god. Faunus, thou half-goat god, thou art worshipped by the Luperci in 15 their loin-cloths what time the severed hides purify the crowded streets. But thou didst bestow thy mother’s name upon the month, O thou inventor of the curved lyre, patron of thieves. Nor was this the first proof that thou didst give of thine affection: thou art supposed to have given to the 20 lyre seven strings, the number of the Pleiades.” Calliopea ended in her turn and was praised by the voices of her sisters. What am I to do? Each side has the same number of votes. May the favour of all the Muses alike attend me, and let me never praise anyone of them more or less than 25 the rest.

KAL. MAI. 1st.

Begin the work with Jupiter. On the first night is visible the star that tended the cradle of Jupiter; the rainy sign of the Olenian She-goat rises. She has her place in the sky as a reward for the milk she gave the babe. The 30 Naiad Amalthea, famous on the Cretan Mount Ida, is said to have hidden Jupiter in the woods. She owned a she-

106. numerum *UDM*¹: numero *XM*¹*m*.

107. sororum *UXMm*: suarum *D*.

109. gratia (grā) *UDMm*: gloria *M*. adsit *XMm*: assit *UD*.

110. plusve minusve *UXMm*: plusque minusque *D*.

112. cunas *UDX¹M¹m¹*: cunis *X¹M¹m¹* and many *ς*. iovis *UDX¹m*: iovi *X¹M*.

113. signum *UDXMm¹*: sidus *m¹*.

115. amalthea *UD*: amalthea *M*: amaltea *m*: althea *X*. cretea nobilis *M*: cretea nobilis *DX*: crethaea nobilis *m*: cretea et nobilis *U*.

- huic fuit haedorum mater formosa duorum,
inter Dictaeos conspicienda greges,
cornibus aeriis atque in sua terga recurvis,
120 ubere, quod nutrix posset habere Iovis.
lac dabat illa deo. sed fregit in arbore cornu
truncaque dimidia parte decoris erat.
sustulit hoc nymphe cinxitque recentibus herbis
et plenum pomis ad Iovis ora tulit.
125 ille ubi res caeli tenuit solioque paterno
sedet, et invicto nil Iove maius erat,
sidera nutricem, nutricis fertile cornu
fecit, quod dominae nunc quoque nomen habet.
praestitibus Maiiae Laribus videre Kalendae
130 aram constitui parvaque signa deum :
voverat illa quidem Curius ; sed multa vetustas
destruit, et saxo longa senecta nocet.
causa tamen positi fuerat cognominis illis,
quod praestant oculis omnia tuta suis.
135 stant quoque pro nobis et praesunt moenibus urbis
et sunt praesentes auxiliumque ferunt.
at canis ante pedes saxo fabricatus eodem
stabat : quae standi cum Lare causa fuit ?
servat uterque domum, domino quoque fidus uterque :
140 compita grata deo, compita grata cani.
exagitant et Lar et turba Diania fures :
pervigilantque Lares pervigilantque canes.
bina gemellorum quacrebam signa deorum
viribus annosae facta caduca morae :
145 mille Lares Geniumque ducis, qui tradidit illos,
urbs habet, et vici numina trina colunt.
quo feror ? Augustus mensis mihi carminis huius
ius habet : interea Diva canenda Bona est.

120. ubere *U²DXMm* : ubera *U¹*. posset *U²DXM* : possit *U¹*.

123. cinxitque *UDXMm* : cinctumque *one Vatican MS. (referred to by Heinsius)*. recentibus *U²Xm¹S* : decentibus *m²* : decoribus *U¹DMB* and many *S*. 128. quod . . . habet *UDXMm¹* : quae . . . habent *m²*.

129. laribus *UDXMm* : festum *M²*. videre *UXMm* : venerere *D*.

130. parvaque signa *UDM* : signaque parva *Xm*.

131. voverat *UM²m¹* : struxerat *one S (cited by Heinsius)* : ara erat *DXMm²BC* and many *S* : vota erat *one S* : arserat *H. Peter (following M. Haupt and H. Jordan)* : ars erat *Merkel²*. According to *Merkel*, ars erat is the first reading of *D* ; but there is no trace of such a reading in my photograph of

goat, conspicuous among the Dictæan flocks, the fair dam of two kids; her airy horns bent over on her back; her udder was such as the nurse of Jove might have. She suckled the god. But she broke a horn on a tree, and was shorn of half her charm. The nymph picked it up, wrapped 5 it in fresh herbs, and carried it, full of fruit, to the lips of Jove. He, when he had gained the kingdom of heaven and sat on his father's throne, and there was nothing greater than unconquered Jove, made his nurse and her horn of plenty into stars: the horn still keeps its mistress' name. 10

The Calends of May witnessed the foundation of an altar to the Guardian Lares, together with small images of the gods. Curius indeed had vowed them, but length of time destroys many things, and age prolonged wears out a stone. The reason for the epithet applied to them is that they guard 15 all things by their eyes. They also stand for us, and preside over the city walls, and they are present and bring us aid. But a dog, carved out of the same stone, used to stand before their feet. What was the reason for its standing with the Lar? Both guard the house: both are faithful to their 20 master: cross-roads are dear to the god, cross-roads are dear to dogs: the Lar and Diana's pack give chase to thieves; and wakeful are the Lares, and wakeful too are dogs. I sought for the images of the twin gods, but by the force of yearlong time they had decayed. In the city there are a 25 thousand Lares, and the Genius of the chief, who handed them over to the public; the parishes worship the three divinities.

Whither do I stray? The month of August has a rightful claim to that subject of my verse: meantime the Good 30 Goddess must be the theme of my song. There is a natural

the MS., which has plainly ara erat and nothing else. curius Um^1 : curibus DXM^1m^3 : laribus M^2s . multa Xm^1C and some s : longa UDM^1m^3 and most MSs . 134. tuta $UDXM^1m$: plena M^2 .

137. at UDM^1m : et X . pedes $UDXM^1m$: pedem M^1 .

140. cani $UDXM^1m$: iovi M^2 .

141. et turba dianin fures UDM : et fures turba dianae Xm .

142. lares $UDXM^1m^2$: canes X^2m^1 . canes $UDXM^1m^2$: fures m^1 .

145. geniumque UXM^1m^2 : geminumque DM^2BCs : geminique m^1 .

146. numina UDX^2M^1m : nomina X^1M^2 . trina UDM^1m : terna X .

147. mensis mihi UXM^1m : mihi mensis D .

148. habet UDM^1m^3 : dabit Xm^1 .

- est moles nativa loco, res nomina fecit :
 150 appellat Saxum ; pars bona montis ea est.
 huic Remus institerat frustra, quo tempore fratri
 prima Palatinae signa dedistis aves.
 templa Patres illic oculos exosa viriles
 leniter acclini constituere iugo.
 155 dedicat haec veteris Clausorum nominis heres,
 virgineo nullum corpore passa virum :
 Livia restituit, ne non imitata maritum
 esset et ex omni parte secuta suum.

- Postera cum roseam pulsus Hyperionis astris
 160 in matutinis lampada tollet equis,
 frigidus Argestes summas mulcebit aristas,
 candidaque a Calabris vela dabuntur aquis.
 at simul inducent obscura crepuscula noctem,
 pars Hyadum toto de grege nulla latet.
 165 ora micant Tauri septem radiantia flammis,
 navita quas Hyadas Graius ab imbre vocat ;
 pars Bacchum nutrisse putat, pars credidit esse
 Tethyos has neptes Oceanique senis.
 nondum stabat Atlas humeros oneratus Olympo,
 170 cum satus est forma conspiciendus Hyas ;
 hunc stirps Oceani maturis nixibus Aethra
 edidit et nymphas, sed prior ortus Hyas.
 dum nova lanugo est, pavidos formidine cervos
 terret, et est illi praeda benigna lepus.
 175 at postquam virtus annis adolevit, in apros
 audet et hirsutas comminus ire leas,

149. nomina $UDXM^1m$: omina M^2 .

150. montis $UDMm^2$: mentis Xm^1 .

151. huic $UDXm^1$: hic M : hunc m^2 : huc ζ .

152. signa Um^2 : regna XMm^1 (*perhaps rightly ; compare line 461 " si volucres luhuissem regna iubentes "*) : regina D .

154. acclini UD : acclivi XMm .

155. haec UXm : hoc M . clausorum U^2m^2 : crassorum U^1XMm^1BC and many ζ .

158. et ex $M^2m^2\zeta$: ut ex *one* ζ : et est $UDXM^1m^1\zeta$. suum *Heinsius*, *Madvig* (*Adversaria* ii. 105) : virum $UDXMm$.

159. postera U^2DX^1Mm : postea U^1X^1 . roseam UX^1Mm^1 : rosea D : roseo $X^1(?)m^1$.

160. tollet U^2DXMm^1 : tollit U^1m^1 .

161. argestes C^2 : agrestes U^1 : argestis $U^1X^1m^1$: agrestis DX^1Mm^1 . mulcebit $UDXm$: miscebit M .

knoll, which gives its name to the place ; they call it the Rock ; it forms a good part of the hill. On it Remus took his stand in vain, what time, birds of the Palatine, ye did vouchsafe the first omens to his brother. There, on the gentle slope of the ridge, the Senate founded a temple which 5 abhors the eyes of males. It was dedicated by an heiress of the ancient name of the Clausi, who in her virgin body had never known a man: Livia restored it, that she might imitate her husband and follow him in everything.

VI. NON. 2nd.

When next Hyperion's daughter on the steeds of morn 10 shall lift her rosy lamp, and the stars are put to flight, the cold north-west wind will sleek the topmost corn-ears, and white sails will put out from Calabrian waters. But no sooner shall the dusk of twilight lead on the night, than no single part of the whole flock of the Hyades will be invisible. 15 The head of the Bull sparkles radiant with seven flames, which the Grecian sailor calls the Hyades after the word for rain (*hycin*). Some think that they nursed Bacchus ; some believe that they are the grand-daughters of Tethys and old Ocean. Not yet did Atlas stand bearing the burden of 20 Olympus upon his shoulders when Hyas was born, of loveliness far-seen ; to him and to the nymphs did Acthra, of the stock of Ocean, give birth in due time, but Hyas was the elder. While the down was fresh upon his cheeks, he was the terror of the bucks that shied at his snares, and he was 25 glad to bag a hare. But when with his years his manly spirit grew, he dared to close with boars and shaggy lionesses,

162. candidaque a calabris Xm^1 : candidaque a capreis DMm^2 : candidaqua canis U : in canis C . *Schenkl*.

163. inducent $UDMm^2$ inducunt Xm^1 .

164. hyadum UXM : yadum D : iam dum m .

166. graius $UXMm$: gracus D : graecus S .

167. putat $UXMm$: putant D .

168. tethyos Mm : thethios UD : thetios X .

170. hyas AX^2Mm^2 : hias D : hylas X^1 : hyllas m^1 .

173. lanugo est $UDXM$: lanugo M .

174. lepus $UDXMm^2$: lupus m^1 .

175. annis $UXMm^1$: animis Dm^2 .

176. leas UXm : feras DM^5 .

- dumque petit latebras fetae catulosque leaenae,
 ipse fuit Libycae praeda cruenta ferae.
 mater Hyan et Hyan maestae flevere sorores
 180 cervicemque polo suppositurus Atlas,
 victus uterque parens tamen est pietate sororum :
 illa dedit caelum, nomina fecit Hyas.
- “ Mater, ades, florum, ludis celebranda iocosis !
 distulcram partes mense priore tuas.
 185 incipis Aprili, transis in tempora Mai :
 alter te fugiens, cum venit, alter habet.
 cum tua sint cedantque tibi confinia mensum,
 convenit in laudes ille vel ille tuas.
 Circus in hunc exit clamataque palma theatris :
 190 hoc quoque cum Circi munere carmen eat.
 ipsa doce, quae sis. hominum sententia fallax :
 optima tu proprii nominis auctor eris.”
 sic ego. sic nostris respondit diva rogatis
 (dum loquitur, vernas efflat ab ore rosas) :
 195 “ Chloris eram, quae Flora vocor : corrupta Latino
 nominis est nostri littera Graeca sono.
 Chloris eram, nymphae campi felicitis, ubi audis
 rem fortunatis ante fuisse viris.
 quae fuerit mihi forma, grave est narrare modestae ;
 200 sed generum matri repperit illa deum.
 ver erat, errabam : Zephyrus conspexit, abibam.
 insequitur, fugio : fortior ille fuit,
 et dederat fratri Boreas ius omne rapinae
 ausus Erechthea praemia ferre domo.
 205 vim tamen emendat dando mihi nomina nuptae,
 inque meo non est ulla querella toro.
 vere fruor semper : semper nitidissimus annus,
 arbor habet frondes, pabula semper humus.

178. ferae Xm^1 : leae $UDMm^2$ and most MSS.

179. hyan et hyan UX^2m^2 : hyan et hyam M : hian et hian D : hylan et hylan X^1 : hyllan et hyllan m^1 . 180. suppositurus $UXMm$: subpositurus D .

182. nomina UDX^1M : nomine m . hyas UX^2Mm^2 : hias D : hylas X^1 : hyllas m^1 .

183. ades $UDXMm^2$: adest m^1 . celebranda UXm^1 : celebrata DMm^2C and many S . 184. partes $UDXMm$: laudes three S .

185. tempora UD^2XMm : nomina D^1 .

186. habet $U^2DX^2Mm^2$: abit $U^1X^1m^1$.

and while he sought out the lair and the whelps of a lioness with young, he himself fell a blood-stained prey to the Libyan brute. For Hyas his mother wept, and for Hyas his sad sisters, and Atlas, soon to bow his neck to the burden of the pole, yet the love of the sisters exceeded that of both 5 parents : it won for them a place in the sky, but Hyas gave them their name (of Hyades).

" Come, Mother of Flowers, that we may honour thee with merry games ; last month I put off giving thee thy due. Thou dost begin in April and passest into the time of May ; 10 the one month claims thee as it flies, the other as it comes. Since the borders of the months are thine and appertain to thee, either of the two is a fitting time to sing thy praises. The games of the circus and the victor's palm, acclaimed by the spectators, fall in this month ; let my song run side 15 by side with the shows in the circus. Tell me thyself who thou art ; the opinion of men is fallacious ; thou wilt be the best voucher of thine own name."

So I spoke, and the goddess answered my question thus, and while she spoke, her lips breathed vernal roses : " I who 20 now am called Flora was formerly Chloris : a Greek letter of my name is corrupted in the Latin speech. Chloris I was, a nymph of the happy fields where, as you have heard, dwelt fortunate men of old. Modesty shrinks from describing my figure ; but it procured the hand of a god for my mother's 25 daughter. 'Twas spring, and I was roaming ; Zephyr caught sight of me ; I retired ; he pursued and I fled ; but he was the stronger, and Boreas had given his brother full right of rape by daring to carry off the prize from the house of Erechtheus. However, he made amends for his violence 30 by giving me the name of bride, and in my marriage-bed I have naught to complain of. I enjoy perpetual spring ; most buxom is the year ever ; ever the tree is clothed with

188. vel ille *UDXMM*¹ : vel iste *M*²*m*¹. 191. sis *UDXMM*¹ : scis *m*².
194. efflat *UDM*² : afflat *Xm*¹. 195. latino *UXAM*¹ : latini *Dm*²*B*⁵.
199. fuerit *UXm*¹ : fuerat *DMm*². 203. et *UDXMM*² : at *m*¹.
205. nomina *UDXMM*¹ : praemia *M*². nuptae *UDX*²*MM*¹ :
nymphae *X*¹*m*².

207. semper nitidissimus *UDM* : semper tepidissimus *m*¹ : per me nitidissimus *X*(corrected) : per me tepidissimus *m*² : vere est nitidissimus *one* 5.

- est mihi fecundus dotalibus hortus in agris :
 210 aura foveat, liquidae fonte rigatur aquae.
 hunc meus implevit generoso flore maritus
 atque ait ' arbitrium tu, dea, floris habe.'
 saepe ego digestos volui numerare colores
 nec potui : numero copia maior erat.
 215 roscida cum primum foliis excussa pruina est,
 et variae radiis intepuere comae,
 conveniunt pictis incinctae vestibus Horae
 inque leves calathos munera nostra legunt.
 protinus accedunt Charites nectuntque coronas
 220 sartaque caelestes implicitura comas.
 prima per immensas sparsi nova semina gentes :
 unius tellus ante coloris erat.
 prima Therapnaeo feci de sanguine florem,
 et manet in folio scripta querella suo.
 225 tu quoque nomen habes cultos, Narcisse, per hortos,
 infelix, quod non alter et alter eras.
 quid Crocon aut Attin referam Cinyraque creatum,
 de quorum per me vulnere surgit honor ?
 Mars quoque, si nescis, per nostras editus artes :
 230 Iuppiter hoc, ut adhuc, nesciat usque, precor.
 sancta Iovem Iuno, nata sine matre Minerva,
 officio doluit non eguisse suo.
 ibat, ut Oceano quereretur facta mariti ;
 restitit ad nostras fessa labore fores.
 235 quam simul aspexi, ' quid te, Saturnia,' dixi
 ' attulit ? ' exponit, quem petat illa locum,
 addidit et causam. verbis solabar amicis :
 ' non ' inquit ' verbis cura levanda mea est
 si pater est factus neglecto coniugis usu
 240 Iuppiter et solus nomen utrumque tenet,

210. foveat *UDX²Mm¹* : floret *X¹m²*. fonte *X² Mm²* : fronte *X¹m²* :
 sponte *UDm¹BC⁵*. rigatur *Mm²* : riganur *UDXm¹BC⁵*.

218. calathos *UXM* : galathos *D* : callathos *m*.

219. accedunt *UDMm²* : accipiunt *Xm¹*.

220. implicitura *UXMm* : implicitura *D*.

221. gentes *UX²Mm¹* : gentis *X¹m²*.

223. therapnaeo *UD* : theramneo *M* : therapneo *X* : teraneo *m*.

225. hortos *UXm²* : ortos *DMm²* : agros *5*.

227. attin *5* : actyn *U* : athim (or athin) *DXm²* : atim *M*. cinyra-
 que *m* : cyniraeque *UX* : cynaraque *D* : canaraque *M*.

leaves, the ground with pasture. In the fields that are my dower, I have a fruitful garden, fanned by the breeze and watered by a spring of running water. This garden my husband filled with noble flowers and said, 'Goddess, be queen of flowers.' Oft did I wish to count the colours in the beds, but could not; the number was past counting. Soon as the dewy rime is shaken from the leaves, and the varied foliage is warmed by the sunbeams, the Hours assemble, clad in dappled weeds, and cull my gifts in light baskets. Straightway the Graces draw near, and twine 10 garlands and wreaths to bind their heavenly hair. I was the first to scatter new seeds among the countless peoples; till then the earth had been of but one colour. I was the first to make a flower out of Therapnaean blood, and on its petals the lament remains inscribed. Thou, too, Narcissus, 15 hast a name in the trim gardens, unhappy thou in that thou hadst not a double of thyself. What need to tell of Crocus, and Attis, and the son of Cinyras, from whose wounds by my art doth beauty spring? Mars, too, was brought to the birth by my contrivance; perhaps you do not know it, 20 and I pray that Jupiter, who thus far knows it not, may never know it. Holy Juno grieved that Jupiter had not needed her services when Minerva was born without a mother. She went to complain of her husband's doings to Ocean; tired by the journey, she halted at my door. As soon as 25 I set eyes on her, 'What brings thee here,' I said, 'daughter of Saturn?' She set forth her journey's goal, adding its reason. I consoled her with friendly words. 'My grief,' quoth she, 'is not to be assuaged with words. If Jupiter has become a father without the use of a wife, and unites 30 both titles in his single person, why should I despair of

228. *vulnere UDXMm*¹: *sanguine m*².

229. *si nescis per nostras UDMm*: *per nostras si nescis X*.

230. *The right interpretation and punctuation of the line were indicated by Madvig (Adversaria ii. 107).*

233. *facta UDXMm and most MSS.*: *furta two S (preferred by Heinsius).*

235. *aspexi UDXMm*: *adspexi Burman, Ehwald-Lery.*

236. *petat UDXMm*¹: *petit X*²*m*².

237. *causam UDXMm*¹: *causas m*².

- cur ego desperem fieri sine coniuge mater
 et parere intacto, dummodo casta, viro ?
 omnia temptabo latis medicamina terris
 et freta Tartareos excutiamque sinus.'
- 245 vox erat in cursu : voltum dubitantis habebam.
 'nescio quid, nymphe, posse videris' ait.
 ter volui promittere opem, ter lingua retenta est :
 ira Iovis magni causa timoris erat.
 'fer, precor, auxilium !' dixit 'celabatur auctor
 250 et Stygiae numen testificabor aquae.'
 'quod petis, Oleniis' inquam 'mihi missus ab arvis
 flos dabit : est hortis unicus ille meis.
 qui dabat, "hoc" dixit "sterilem quoque tange iuvencam,
 mater erit." tetigi, nec mora, mater erat.'
- 255 protinus haerentem decerpsi pollice florem :
 tangitur et tacto concipit illa sinu.
 iamque gravis Thracen et laeva Propontidos intrat
 fitque potens voti, Marsque creatus erat.
 qui memor accepti per me natalis 'habeto
 260 tu quoque Romulca' dixit 'in urbe locum.'
 forsitan in teneris tantum mea regna coronis
 esse putes ? tangit numen et arva meum.
 si bene floruerint segetes, erit arca dives ;
 si bene floruerit vinca, Bacchus erit ;
 265 si bene floruerint oleae, nitidissimus annus,
 pomaque proventum temporis huius habent.
 flore semel laeso percunt viciaeque fabaeque,
 et pereunt lentae, advena Nile, tuae.
 vina quoque in magnis operose condita cellis
 270 florent, et nebulae dolia summa tegunt.
 mella meum munus : volucres ego mella daturas
 ad violam et cyttis et thyma cana voco.

241. desperem *UDMm*² : desierim *Xm*¹.

243. latis *DX²Mm*² : latius *U* : letis *X*¹ : lactis *m*¹.

245. habebam *UDX²Mm*² : habebat *m*¹.

250. numen *UD* : nomen *XMm*. testificabor *UDm*¹*5* : testificatur *XMm*².

251. oleniis *UDMm*² : eleniis *X*² : hoc geticis *X*¹*m*¹. arvis *UXM²m*¹ : oris *M*¹*m*² : horis *D*.

253. dabat *Um*¹ : dabit *DM²B* and many *5* : dedit *Xm*². hoc *Umm* : hunc *X*. 254. tetigi *Xm* : tetigit *UMB* and many *5*.

255. decerpsi *UDXM²m* : detexi *M*². 257. iamque *UXMm* : illa *D*.

259. qui *UXm*² : tum *MBC*⁵ : tunc *m*¹*5* : cum *Dm*²*5*.

becoming a mother without a husband, and of bringing forth without contact with a man, always supposing that I am chaste? I will try all the drugs in the wide world, and I will explore the seas and the depths of Tartarus.' Her speech would have flowed on, but on my face there was a look of doubt. 'Thou seemest, nymph,' said she, 'to have some power to help me.' Thrice did I wish to promise help, but thrice my tongue was tied: the anger of great Jupiter filled me with fear. 'Help me, I pray,' she said, 'the helper's name will be kept secret, and I will call on the divinity of the Stygian water to be my witness.' 'Thy wish,' quoth I 'will be accomplished by a flower that was sent me from the fields of Olenus. It is the only flower of the kind in my garden. He who gave it me said, 'Touch also with this a barren heifer; she will be a mother.' I touched, and without delay she was a mother. Straightway I plucked with my thumb the clinging flower and touched Juno, and she conceived when it touched her bosom. And now being with child, she passed to Thrace and the left shores of the Propontis; her wish was granted, and Mars was born. In memory of the birth he owed to me, he said, 'Do thou also have a place in the city of Romulus.' Perhaps you may think that I am queen only of dainty garlands; but my divinity has to do also with the tilled fields. If the crops have blossomed well, the threshing-floor will be piled high; if the vines have blossomed well, there will be wine; if the olive-trees have blossomed well, most buxom will be the year; and the fruitage will be according to the time of blossoming. If once the blossom is nipped, the vetches and beans wither, and thy lentils, O Nile that comest from afar, do likewise wither. Wines also bloom, laboriously stored in great cellars, and a scum covers their surface in the jars. Honey is my gift. 'Tis I who call the winged creatures, which yield honey, to the violet, and the clover,

262. tangit *UDXAm*¹: tangunt *m*² and a few *ς* (preferred by Heinsius. perhaps rightly; compare verses 297, 489).

265. nitidissimus *UDMm*: ditissimus *X*.

266. pomaque proventum *Um*²: pomaque eventum *DXMm*¹.

271. daturas *UDXAm*¹: daturus *m*².

272. citysos *M*: cythisos *U*: cythissos *m*: cithisos *X*: scithisos *D*. cana *UDXm*: summa *M*.

- [nos quoque idem facimus tunc, cum iuvenalibus annis
luxuriant animi, corporaque ipsa vigent."]
275 talia dicentem tacitus mirabar. at illa
" ius tibi discendi, si qua requiris " ait.
" dic, dea," respondi " ludorum quae sit origo."
vix bene desieram, rettulit illa mihi :
" cetera luxuriae nondum instrumenta vigeant,
280 aut pecus aut latam dives habebat humum ;
hinc etiam locuples, hinc ipsa pecunia dicta est.
sed iam de vetito quisque parabat opes :
venerat in morem populi depascere saltus,
idque diu licuit, poenae nulla fuit.
285 vindice servabat nullo sua publica volgus ;
iamque in privato pascere inertis erat.
plebis ad aediles perducta licentia talis
Publicios : animus defuit ante viris.
rem populus recipit, multam subiere nocentes :
290 vindicibus laudi publica cura fuit.
multa data est ex parte mihi, magnoque favore
victores ludos instituere novos.
parte locant clivum, qui tunc erat ardua rupes :
utile nunc iter est, Publiciumque vocant."
295 annua credideram spectacula facta. negavit,
addidit et dictis altera verba suis :
" nos quoque tangit honor : festis gaudemus et aris,
turbaque caelestes ambitiosa sumus.
saepe deos aliquis peccando fecit iniquos,
300 et pro delictis hostia blanda fuit ;
saepe Iovem vidi, cum iam sua mittere vellet
fulmina, tunc dato sustinuisse manum.

273-274. These lines were condemned by Bentley and bracketed by Davies and by Merkel in his third edition.

274. vigent *UDXm* : virent reported by Heinsius and Merkel to be the first reading of *Z* (= *X*) and *m* ; but that reading is not visible in my photographs of these manuscripts, though in both there seem to be traces of erasures.

276. discendi *UDXm* : dicendi *M*.

279. instrumenta *UDX²Mm* : strumenta *X¹*.

283. depascere *UXM¹* : deposcere *Dm²*.

285. publica *DXM¹m¹* : puplica *U* : pabula *M²m²*.

287. tandem (*for* talis) *E. F. Metzger*.

288. publicios *U²DXMm* : puplicius *U¹*. animus *UDMm¹* : animos *X¹m²* : alius *X²*.

and the grey thyme. 'Tis I, too, who discharge the same function when in youthful years spirits run riot and bodies are robust."

I silently admired her as she spoke thus. But she said, "Thou art free to learn the answers to any questions thou mayest put." "Say, goddess," I replied, "what is the origin of the games." Scarce had I ended when she answered me. "The other instruments of luxury were not yet in vogue: the rich man owned either cattle or broad lands; hence came the name for rich, and hence the name for ¹⁰ money itself. But already some amassed wealth from unlawful sources: it had become a custom to graze the public pastures, the thing was suffered long, and no penalty was exacted. Common folk had no champion to protect their share in public property; and at last it was deemed the ¹⁵ sign of a poor spirit in a man to graze his cattle on his own land. Such licence was brought to the notice of the plebeian aediles, the Publicii; till then men's hearts had failed them. The case was tried before the people: the guilty were fined: the champions were praised for their public ²⁰ spirit. Part of the fine was given to me; and the winners of the suit instituted new games with great applause. With part of the fine they contracted for making a way up the slope, which then was a steep rock: now it is a serviceable road, and they call it the Publician road." I had thought ²⁵ that the shows were annual; the goddess denied it and added to her former discourse a second speech. "We, too, are touched by honour; we delight in festivals and altars; we heavenly beings are a greedy gang. Often by sinning has a man disposed the gods against him, and a sacrificial ³⁰ victim has been a sop for crimes. Often have I seen Jupiter, when he was just about to launch his thunderbolts, hold

289. multam UXM¹m⁴: multi DM²m¹(corrected).

290. laudi DXM¹m: laudis M²: ludi U. publica DXMm: puplica U.

291. multa UDXMm: nulla one 5 (as a variant).

293. clivum UDXMm¹: clivi m² and many 5. According to G. J. Laing, the reading of U is clivi; but in my photograph of the MS. the reading is plainly clivu¹ (= clivum). qui UDMm¹: qua XM².

296. altera UDXMm²: talia m¹.

299. deos aliquis UDMm: aliquis deos X.

301. sua mittere UDXM²m: dimittere M².

- at si neglegimur, magnis iniuria poenis
 solvitur, et iustum praeterit ira modum.
 305 respice Thestiaden : flammis absentibus arsit ;
 causa est, quod Phoebes ara sine igne fuit.
 respice Tantaliden : eadem dea vela tenebat ;
 virgo est, et spretos bis tamen ulta focos.
 Hippolyte infelix, velles coluisse Dionen,
 310 cum consternatis diripereris equis.
 longa referre mora est correcta oblivia damnis.
 me quoque Romani praeteriere patres.
 quid facerem, per quod fierem manifesta doloris ?
 exigerem nostrae qualia damna notae ?
 315 excidit officium tristi mihi. nulla tuebar
 rura, nec in pretio fertilis hortus erat :
 lilia deciderant, violas arce videres,
 filaque punice languida facta croci.
 saepe mihi Zephyrus 'dotes corrumpere noli
 320 ipsa tuas' dixit : dos mihi vilis erat.
 florebant oleae ; venti nocuere protervi :
 florebant segetes ; grandine laesa seges :
 in spe vitis erat ; caelum nigrescit ab Austris,
 et subita frondes decutiuntur aqua.
 325 nec volui fieri nec sum crudelis in ira,
 cura repellendi sed mihi nulla fuit.
 convenere patres et, si bene floreat annus,
 numinibus nostris annua festa vovent.
 annuimus voto. consul cum consule ludos
 330 Postumio Laenas persolvere mihi."
 quacrerere conabar, quare lascivia maior
 his foret in ludis liberiorque iocus,

303. neglegimur *UX* : negligimur *DMm*.

304. modum *UDMm*² : metum *Xm*¹.

305. thestiadem *UM* : testiadem *DX* : thesthiadem *m*.

306. causa est *UDXMm* : causaque *C* and *three S*.

307. tantaliden *UDXm* : tantalidem *M*.

309. coluisse *UDMm*¹ : caluisse *Xm*². dionem *UDMm*¹ : dione *Xm*².

If we read caluisse Dione, which is the reading of X and apparently the original reading of m (though the text has been altered by a later hand), the meaning will be, "Fain wouldst thou have been inflamed by love," which gives a good sense. Compare Horace, Odes iv. 11. 33 sq. "Non enim posthuc alia calebo | femina." But no doubt coluisse Dionen is right: it was for his neglect of the worship of the goddess that Hippolytus paid so dear.

his hand on the receipt of incense. But if we are neglected, we avenge the wrong by heavy penalties, and our wrath exceeds just bounds. Remember Thestiades : he was burnt by flames afar; the reason was that no fire blazed on Phoebe's altar. Remember Tantalides: the same goddess detained the 5 fleet; she is a virgin, yet she twice avenged her slighted hearths. Unhappy Hippolytus, fain wouldst thou have worshipped Dione when thy scared steeds were rending thee asunder ! 'Twere long to tell of cases of forgetfulness redressed by forfeitures. I myself was once neglected by the Roman senate. 10 What was I to do ? By what could I show my resentment ? What punishment exact for the slight put on me ? In my gloom I relinquished my office. I guarded not the countryside, and the fruitful garden was naught to me. The lilies had dropped ; you might see the violets withering, and the 15 tendrils of the crimson saffron languishing. Often Zephyr said to me, ' Spoil not thine own dowry ' But my dowry was worthless in my sight. The olive-trees were in blossom ; the wanton winds blighted them : the crops were in blossom ; the crop was blasted by the hail : the vines were promising ; 20 the sky grew black under the south wind, and the leaves were shaken down by a sudden shower. I did not will it so, nor am I cruel in my anger ; but I did not care to ward off these ills. The senate assembled and voted an annual festival to my divinity if the year should prove fruitful. I accepted 25 the vow. The consuls Laenas and Postumius celebrated the games which had been vowed to me."

I was about to ask why these games are marked by greater

311. correctæ three 5: collecta *UDXm* and apparently most *MSS.* damnis *UDMm*¹: damni *Xm*².

312. praeteriere *UDMm*¹: praeripuerè *Xm*¹.

313. quod *UDMm*¹: quae *Xm*².

314. exigerem *UDMm*²: exigerent *Xm*¹.

315. tuebar *UDXMm*²: videbar *M*¹.

317. arere *UDXMm*²: horrere *M*².

322. seges *UDXMm* and most *MSS.*: ceres a few 5.

325. ira *UDXMm*²: illa *m*¹.

328. festa *UDXMm*: sacra a few 5. vovent *UDXMm*²: volunt *m*¹.

329. annuimus *UDXMm*: adnuimus *Burman, Peter^A, Ekwald-Levy.*
Compare Fasti iv. 221. voto *DXMm*¹: votis *m*²: nutu *U*.

330. persolvere *UDXMm*²: constituere *M*².

332. liberiorque *UDXMm*²: uberiorque *m*¹.

- sed mihi succurrit numen non esse severum
 ' aptaque deliciis munera ferre deam.
 335 tempora sutilibus cinguntur pota coronis,
 et latet iniecta splendida mensa rosa ;
 ebrius incinctis philyra conviva capillis
 saltat et imprudens utitur arte meri ;
 ebrius ad durum formosae limen amicae
 340 cantat, habent unctae mollia sarta comae.
 nulla coronata peraguntur seria fronte,
 nec liquidae vinctis flore bibuntur aquae ;
 donec eras mixtus nullis, Acheloe, racemis,
 gratia sumendae non erat ulla rosae.
 345 Bacchus amat flores : Baccho placuisse coronam
 ex Ariadneo sidere nosse potes.
 scaena levis decet hanc : non est, mihi credite, non est
 illa coturnatas inter habenda deas.
 turba quidem cur hos celebret meretricia ludos,
 350 non ex difficili causa petita subest.
 non est de tetricis, non est de magna professis,
 volt sua plebeio sacra patere choro,
 et monet aetatis specie, dum floreat, uti ;
 contemni spinam, cum cecidere rosae.
 355 cur tamen, ut dantur vestes Cerialibus albae,
 sic haec est cultu versicolore decens ?
 an quia maturis albescit messis aristas,
 et color et species floribus omnis inest ?
 annuit, et motis flores cecidere capillis,
 360 accidere in mensas ut rosa missa solet.
 lumina restabant, quorum me causa latebat,
 cum sic errores abstulit illa meos :
335. sutilibus *UDXM¹m* : nexilibus *M²5*. cinguntur *U²DXM¹m* :
 pinguntur *U¹M²*. pota *one 5*, *Heinsius* : tota *UDXMm* and most *MSS.* :
 laeta *Merkel* : lota *Hertzberg*.
 336. et *UDXM¹m* : sic *M²*. latet *UDMm¹* : iacet *Xm²*.
 337. fylira *U* : phyllira *DX* : phylira *m* : hilaris *M*.
 338. imprudens *UXMm* : inprudens *D* and *two 5*. utitur *UDXM¹m* :
 vertitur *M²*. arte *UDXMm¹* : ante *m¹*.
 340. unctae *UDMm²* : cunctae *Xm¹*. comae *UDXMm* : fores *Heinsius*
 (*comparing Lucretius* iv. 171). 341. seria *UDXM¹m* : tempora *M²*.
 342. vinctis *UDX²Mm²* : unctis *X¹* : iunctis *m¹5*.
 346. ariadnaeo *M* : ariadneo *Um* : adriagneo *D* : adriadneo *X*.
 347. scaena *UDXM¹m* : coena *M²*. credite *UDXM¹m* : credere *M²*.
 348. coturnatas *UDXm* : cothurnatas *M*.
 349. cur hos celebret *UDMm* : celebret cur hos *X*.

wantonness and broader jests ; but it occurred to me that the divinity is not strait-laced, and that the gifts she brings lend themselves to delights. The brows of wassailers are wreathed with stitched garlands, and the polished table is buried under a shower of roses. Maudlin the guest dances, his hair ⁵ bound with linden bark, and all unwitting plies the tipsy art. Maudlin the lover sings at the hard threshold of his lady fair : soft garlands crown his perfumed locks. No serious business does he do whose brow is garlanded ; no water of the running brook is quaffed by such as twine their hair ¹⁰ with flowers. So long as thy stream, Achelous, was dashed with no juice of grapes, none cared to pluck the rose. Bacchus loves flowers ; that he delights in a floral crown, you may know from Ariadne's clustered stars. A rakish stage fits Flora well ; she is not, believe me she is not, to be ¹⁵ counted among your buskined goddesses. The reason why a crowd of drabs frequents these games is not hard to discover. She is none of your glum, none of your high-flown ones : she wishes her rites to be open to the common herd ; and she warns us to use life's flower, while it still blooms ; for ²⁰ the thorn, she reminds us, is flouted when the roses have fallen away.

But why is it that whereas white robes are given out at the festival of Ceres, Flora is neatly clad in attire of many colours ? Is it because the harvest whitens when the ears ²⁵ are ripe, but flowers are of every hue and every shape ? She nodded assent and at the motion of her tresses the flowers dropped down, as falls the rose cast by a hand upon a table.

There yet remained the lights, the reason whereof escaped me ; when the goddess thus removed my doubts : " Lights ³⁰

350. petita *UDXMM* : petenda *two* *5*. subest *DXm¹* : fuit *UMm²B* and many *5* : subit *Postgate* (but compare *Fasti* vi. 266 "causa probanda subest"). 351. de *UXM* : dea *DmC⁵*.

352. plebeio *UXMM* : phebeo *D*.

354. contemni *X²m¹* : contemnunt *UX²(?)Mm²* : contemnit *D*.

355. ut dantur vestes *DM¹m²* : ut vestes dantur *X¹(?)m¹* : ut dentur vestes *M²* : ut vestes dentur *X²* : utentur vestes *U¹* (so *Laing* reads, rightly, *I think*) : aptentur vestes *U²* and three *5*. cerealibus *UDXMM* (see *Fasti* iv. 619).

albae *UDXMM²* : herbae *m¹*.

356. haec est *UXMm²* : est haec *D* : est hoc *m¹*.

357. albescit *UDMm²* : arescit *Xm¹*.

359. annuit *UDXMM*.

360. accidere *UDXm¹* : decidere *Mm²*.

361. me *UDMm²* : mihi *X*.

362. cum *UDXMM* : tunc *B* and two *5*.

- " vel quia purpureis collucet floribus agri,
 lumina sunt nostros visa decere dies ;
 365 vel quia nec flos est hebeti nec flamma colore,
 atque oculos in se splendor uterque trahit ;
 vel quia deliciis nocturna licentia nostris
 convenit. a vero tertia causa venit."
 " est breve praeterea, de quo mihi quaerere restat,
 370 si liceat " dixi : dixit et illa " licet."
 " cur tibi pro Libycis clauduntur rete leaenis
 imbelles capreae sollicitusque lepus ? "
 non sibi, respondit, silvas cessisse, sed hortos
 arvaque pugnaci non adeunda ferae.
 375 omnia finierat : tenues secessit in auras,
 mansit odor : posses scire fuisse deam
 floreat ut toto carmen Nasonis in aevo,
 sparge, precor, donis pectora nostra tuis
 Nocte minus quarta promet sua sidera Chiron
 380 semivir et flavi corpore mixtus equi.
 Pelion Haemoniae mons est obversus in Austros :
 summa virent pinu, cetera quercus habet
 Phillyrides tenuit. saxo stant antra vetusto,
 quae iustum memorant incoluisse senem.
 385 ille manus olim missuras Hectora leto
 creditur in lyricis detinuisse modis.
 venerat Alcides exhausta parte laborum,
 iussaue restabant ultima paenc viro.
 stare simul casu Troiae duo fata videres :
 390 hinc puer Aeacides, hinc Iove natus erat.
 excipit hospitio iuvenem Philyreus heros,
 et causam adventus hic rogat, ille docet.
 respicit interea clavam spoliūque leonis,
 " vir " que ait " his armis, armaque digna viro ! "

365-366. *These two verses are omitted (probably by a slip of the scribe) in X; they are also omitted in the text of m, but are inserted at the foot of the page by a later hand. They are found in U, D, and M.*

366. in se *U³M³m¹* : inter *U³DM³m³* : nostros *BC⁵*. uterque *UDMm¹* : utrumque *m³*. 370. dixit et *U³XMm¹* : dixerat *Dm³*.

371. clauduntur *UDXMm* : claudantur *some S*.

375. secessit *UDXMm* : successit *BC⁵*. in *UDXMm¹* : ad *m³*.

376. posses *U³DXMm* : possem *U¹*.

377. carmen nasonis *UXMm* : nasonis carmen *D*.

379. minus *UDXMm* : pius *Heinsius*. quarta *UDXMm* : quinta *B*.

are thought to befit my days either because the fields do glow with purple flowers ; or because neither flowers nor flames are of a dull colour, and the splendour of both attracts the eye ; or because nocturnal licence befits my revels. The third reason comes nearest the truth." 5

"There is yet a small matter about which it remains, with thy leave, to put a question." "Thou hast my leave," said she. "Why, instead of Libyan lionesses, are unwarlike roes and shy hares pent in thy nets?" She replied that her province was not woods, but gardens and fields, 10 where no fierce beast may come.

Her tale was ended, and she vanished into thin air. A fragrance lingered ; you could know a goddess had been there. That Naso's lay may bloom for aye, O strew, I pray thee, goddess, thy boons upon my breast ! 15

V. NON. 3rd.

In less than four nights the semi-human Chiron, who is compounded with the body of a tawny horse, will put forth his stars. Pelion is a mountain of Haemonia which looks southward : its top is green with pinewoods : the rest is draped with oaks. It was the home of Philyra's son. 20 There remains an ancient rocky cave, which they say was inhabited by the righteous old man. He is believed to have employed, in strumming the lyre, those hands which were one day to send Hector to death. Alcides had come after accomplishing a part of his labours, and little but the last 25 orders remained for the hero to obey. You might see standing by chance together the two masters of the fate of Troy, on the one side the boyish descendant of Acacus, on the other the son of Jupiter. The Philyrean hero received Hercules hospitably and asked the reason of his coming, and Hercules 30 informed him. Meantime Chiron looked askance at the club and lion's skin and said, "Man worthy of those arms,

381. obversus *UDXMM* : conversus *M*².

384. quae *UDXMM*² : quem *m*¹.

387. exhausta *UDXM* : exhausta *m* : exacta *some S*.

391. hospitio iuvenem *UDXMM* : hospitio iunctum *Merkel*² (*but compare verse 647* "Excipit hospitio iuvenem").

393. respicit *UDMM*¹ and most *MSs.* : perspicit *Xm*².

394. his *XMM*¹ : hic *UDm*² *c* and many *S*.

- 395 nec se, quin horrens auderent tangere saetis
vellus, Achilleae continuere manus.
• dumque senex tractat squalentia tela venenis,
excidit et laevo fixa sagitta pede est.
ingemuit Chiron traxitque e corpore ferrum,
400 et gemit Alcides Haemoniusque puer.
ipse tamen lectas Pagasacis collibus herbas
temperat et vana volnera mulcet ope :
virus edax superabat opem, penitusque recepta
ossibus et toto corpore pestis erat.
405 sanguine centauri Lernaee sanguis echidnae
mixtus ad auxilium tempora nulla dabat.
stabat, ut ante patrem, lacrimis perfusus Achilles :
sic flendus Peleus, si moreretur, erat.
saepe manus aegras manibus fingeat amicis
410 (morum, quos fecit, praemia doctor habet),
ōscula saepe dedit, dixit quoque saepe iacenti
" vive, precor, nec me, care, relinque, pater ! "
nona dies aderat, cum tu, iustissime Chiron,
bis septem stellis corpora cinctus eras.
- 415 Hunc Lyra curva sequi cuperet, sed idonea nondum
est via : nox aptum tertia tempus crit.

Scorpius in caelo, cum cras lucescere Nonas
dicimus, a media parte notandus erit.

- 420 Hinc ubi protulerit formosa ter Hesperus ora,
ter dederint Phoebo sidera victa locum,

395. auderent *UDMm*¹ : auderet *Xm*¹.
397. venenis *UDXMm*¹ : veneno *m*¹.
398. fixa *UDXM* : ficta *m*.
399. e *UDMm* : a *X*.
400. et gemit *UDMm*¹ : ingemit *Xm*¹.
401. pagaseis *U* : pegaseis *M* : pegaseis *DXmBCS*.
402. temperat *UDXMm*¹ : colligit *M*¹. vana *DXMm*¹ and most
MSS. : varia *Um*¹.
404. corpore *UDXMm* : pectore some *S*.
405. echidnae *U(corrected)DM* : echinae *Xm*.
407. patrem *DXM* : patres *m*.
408. si *UDXM* : sic *m*.
409. fingeat *UDXMm*¹ : tangebat *M*¹.
414. corpora *XmM*¹ : corpore *DXm*¹ : tempora *m*¹ : tempora *U*.

and arms worthy the man ! " Nor could Achilles keep his hands from daring to touch the skin all shaggy with bristles. And while the old man fingered the shafts clotted with poison, one of the arrows fell out of the quiver and stuck in his left foot. Chiron groaned and drew the steel from his 5 body ; and Alcides groaned, and so did the Haemonian boy. The centaur himself, however, compounded herbs gathered on the Pagasæan hills and assuaged the wounds by bootless remedies ; but the gnawing poison defied all remedies, and the bane soaked into the bones and the whole body. The 10 blood of the Lernaean hydra, mingled with the centaur's blood, left no time for rescue. Achilles, bathed in tears, stood before him as before a father ; so would he have wept for Peleus at the point of death. Often he fondled the feeble hands with his own loving hands ; the teacher reaped the 15 reward of the character he had moulded. Often Achilles kissed him, and often said to him as he lay there, " Live, I pray thee, and do not forsake me, dear father." The ninth day was come when thou, most righteous Chiron, didst gird thy body with twice seven stars. 20

III. NON. 5th.

The curved Lyre would wish to follow the Centaur, but the road is not yet clear. The third night will be the proper time.

PR. NON. 6th.

The Scorpion will be visible from its middle in the sky, when we say that to-morrow the Nones will dawn. 25

VII. ID. 9th.

When from that day the Evening Star shall thrice have shown his beauteous face, and thrice the vanquished stars shall have retreated before Phoebus, there will be celebrated

416. erit UXm : habet DM .

417. scorpius *Heinsius* : scorpius $UDXm$. Compare Fasti iii. 712.

418. dicimus a media UDM^1m^1 : dicemus media XM^2m^2 . notandus UXm^1BCS : notatus Dm^1 : videndus Mm^2 .

419. hinc UXM^2m^2 : hunc m^1 : tunc DM^1BCS . protulerit $UDXm^2$: propulerit BS : propullerit m^1 : sustulerit M .

- ritus erit veteris, nocturna Lemuria, sacri :
 inferias tacitis manibus illa dabunt.
 annus erat brevior, nec adhuc pia februa norant,
 nec tu dux mensum, Iane biformis, eras :
 425 iam tamen extincto cineri sua dona ferebant,
 compositique nepos busta piabat avi.
 mensis erat Maius, maiorum nomine dictus,
 qui partem prisci nunc quoque moris habet.
 nox ubi iam media est somnoque silentia praebet,
 430 et canis et variac conticuistis aves,
 ille memor veteris ritus timidusque deorum
 surgit (habent gemini vincula nulla pedes)
 signaque dat digitis medio cum pollice iunctis,
 occurrat tacito ne levis umbra sibi.
 435 cumque manus puras fontana perluit unda,
 vertitur et nigras accipit ante fabas
 aversusque iacit ; sed dum iacit, " haec ego mitto,
 his " inquit " redimo meque meosque fabis."
 hoc novies dicit nec respicit : umbra putatur
 440 colligere et nullo terga vidente sequi.
 rursus aquam tangit Temesaeaeque concrepat aera
 et rogat, ut tectis exeat umbra suis
 cum dixit novies " Manes exite paterni,"
 respicit et pure sacra peracta putat.
 445 dicta sit unde dies, quae nominis extet origo,
 me fugit : ex aliquo est invenienda deo.
 Pleiade nate, mone, virga venerande potenti :
 saepe tibi est Stygii regia visa Iovis.
 venit adoratus Caducifer. accipe causam
 450 nominis : ex ipso est cognita causa deo.

421. nocturna *UDXMM*¹ : celebrare *M*².

423. norant *UDMM*¹ : norat *Xm*².

426. compositique *UDXMM* : compositaque *G*. On the verb componere, "to lay to rest," in the sense of "to bury," see Housman on Manilius, iv. 53.

429. somnoque silentia praebet *DXMM*¹, and apparently the great majority of MSS. ("meliores magno numero" Heinsius) : somnosque silentia praebent *Um*². This latter reading, though it yields an equally good sense and is accepted by Peter and Ehwald-Levy, has very little MS. authority ; even in *U* the original reading appears to have been somno, not somnos, the final s having been inserted by a later hand.

435. cumque *UDXMM* : terque a few *S*. Heinsius conjectured terque manus puras fontana ubi perluit (or proluit) unda. puras *DXMM*¹ : pure *UM*² *m*³ *BC* and many *S*.

an olden rite, the nocturnal Lemuria : it will bring offerings to the silent ghosts. The year was formerly shorter, and the pious rites of purification (*februa*) were unknown, and thou, two-headed Janus, wast not the leader of the months. Yet even then people brought gifts to the ashes of the dead, as ⁵ their due, and the grandson paid his respects to the tomb of his buried grandsire. It was the month of May, so named after our forefathers (*maiores*), and it still retains part of the ancient custom. When midnight has come and lends silence to sleep, and dogs and all ye varied fowls are hushed, ¹⁰ the worshipper who bears the olden rite in mind and fears the gods arises ; no knots constrict his feet ; and he makes a sign with his thumb in the middle of his closed fingers, lest in his silence an unsubstantial shade should meet him. And after washing his hands clean in spring water, he turns, ¹⁵ and first he receives black beans and throws them away with face averted ; but while he throws them, he says : " These I cast ; with these beans I redeem me and mine." This he says nine times, without looking back : the shade is thought to gather the beans, and to follow unseen behind. ²⁰ Again he touches water, and clashes Temesan bronze, and asks the shade to go out of his house. When he has said nine times, " Ghosts of my fathers, go forth ! " he looks back, and thinks that he has duly performed the sacred rites.

Why the day was called Lemuria, and what is the origin ²⁵ of the name, escapes me ; it is for some god to discover it. Son of the Pleiad, thou reverend master of the puissant wand, inform me : oft hast thou seen the palace of the Stygian Jove. At my prayer the Bearer of the Herald's Staff (*Caducifer*) was come. Learn the cause of the name ; the ³⁰

436. ante *UDXM¹mBCG* and many *S* : ore *M²*.

437. iacit *UDM¹m²* : iacet *XM²m¹* : tacet *m²*.

438. meosque *UDX¹m* : meisque *m*.

439. hoc *UDXM¹m²* : haec *M²m²S*. dicit *UDXM¹m* : dixit *M²*.

440. vidente *UDXM¹m* : sequente *M²*.

441. temesaeque *X* : themesaeaeque *M* : themesaeque *UDm*.

443. dixit novies *UXMm* : novies dixit *P*.

445. extet *UDMm²* : extat *X²* : esset *m¹*.

447. pleiade *DX*(corrected)*m¹* : pleide *M* : plide *U* (according to Laing, the first reading of *U* was pleione, but this is not visible in my photograph).

448. tibi est *UDXMm* and apparently most MSS. : est omitted in a few *S*.

449. adoratus *DXMm* : adornatus *U*. causam *UDXM¹m* : crimen *M²*.

- Romulus ut tumultu fraternas condidit umbras,
 et male veloci iusta soluta Remo,
 Faustulus infelix et passis Acca capillis
 spargebant lacrimis ossa perusta suis.
 455 inde domum redeunt sub prima crepuscula maesti,
 utque erat, in duro procubuerunt toro.
 umbra cruenta Remi visa est assistere lecto
 atque haec exiguo murmure verba loqui :
 " en ego dimidium vestri parsque altera voti,
 460 cernite, sim qualis, qui modo qualis eram !
 qui modo, si volucres habuissem regna iubentes,
 in populo potui maximus esse meo,
 nunc sum elapsa rogi flammis et inanis imago :
 haec est ex illo forma relicta Remo !
 465 heu ubi Mars pater est ? si vos modo vera locuti,
 uberaque expositis ille ferina dedit.
 quem lupa servavit, manus hunc temeraria civis
 perdidit. o quanto mitior illa fuit !
 saeve Celer, crudelem animam per volnera reddas,
 470 utque ego, sub terras sanguinolentus eas.
 noluit hoc frater, pietas aequalis in illo est :
 quod potuit, lacrimas manibus ille dedit.
 hunc vos per lacrimas, per vestra alimenta rogare,
 ut celebrem nostro signet honore diem."
 475 mandantem amplecti cupiunt et brachia tendunt :
 lubrica prensantes effugit umbra manus.
 ut secum fugiens somnos abduxit imago,
 ad regem voces fratris uterque ferunt.
 Romulus obsequitur, lucemque Remuria dicit
 480 illam, qua positus iusta feruntur avis.
 aspera mutata est in lenem tempore longo
 littera, quae toto nomine prima fuit ;

453. passis *UDX²Mm* : sparsis a number of *5*.

454. spargebant *UDX²Mm* : spargebat *X¹*.

455. sub prima *X¹Mm* : suprema *U¹D*. maesti *U¹m* : moesti *M²* : mesti *DX* : noctis *M¹* and a few *5*.

460. qualis eram *UD¹mB⁵* : talis *X¹M⁵* : tantus *D²*.

463. sum elapsa *UDX²Mm* : sum omitted in *G* and some *5*.

465. heu *U¹X¹m²* : heus *U²DX²Mm¹B⁵*.

466. ille *DXM* : illa *Um*.

471. aequalis *UXMm* : equalis *D* : o qualis one *5* : en qualis *Heinsius* : et qualis *Postgate*.

god himself, made it known. When Romulus had buried his brother's ghost in the grave, and the obsequies had been paid to the too nimble Remus, unhappy Faustulus and Acca, with streaming hair, sprinkled the burnt bones with their tears. Then at twilight's fall they sadly took the homeward way, and flung themselves on their hard couch, just as it was. The gory ghost of Remus seemed to stand at the bedside and to speak these words in a faint murmur: "Look on me, who shared the half, the full half of your tender care, behold what I am come to, and what I was of late! A little while ago I might have been the foremost of my people, if but the birds had assigned the throne to me. Now I am an empty wraith, escaped from the flames of the pyre; that is all that remains of the once great Remus. Alas, where is my father Mars? If only you spoke the truth, and it was he who sent the wild beast's dugs to suckle the abandoned babes. A citizen's rash hand undid him whom the she-wolf saved; O how far more merciful was she! Ferocious Celer, mayest thou yield up thy cruel soul through wounds, and pass like me all bloody underneath the earth! My brother willed not this: his love's a match for mine: he gave to my departed soul —'twas all he could—his tears. Pray him by your tears, by your fosterage, that he would celebrate a day by signal honour done to me." As the ghost gave this charge, they yearned to embrace him and stretched forth their arms; the slippery shade escaped the clasping hands. When the vision fled and carried slumber with it, the pair reported to the king his brother's words. Romulus complied, and gave the name of Remuria to the day on which due worship is paid to buried ancestors. In course of ages the rough letter, which stood at the beginning of the name, was changed into the smooth; and soon the

472. manibus ille *UDMm*²: in mea fata *Xm¹BCS*.

473. hunc *UDXMM*: nunc *C⁵*. rogate *UDXMM*²: vocate *m¹*.

476. prensantes *UDXMM*²: pressantes *m¹*.

477. ut secum fugiens *UXM¹m*: visaque confugiens *DM²*.

479. remuria *DX²Mm²*: remurria *U*: remurida *X²m¹*: remulida *X¹*
(corrected) *m²*: lemuria *F* and a few *S*. dicit *U* and a few *S*: dixit *DXMm* and apparently most *MSS*.

481. lenem *UM* and apparently most *MSS*: levem *DX*: laevum *m*.

mox etiam lemures animas dixere silentum :
 hic sensus verbi, vis ea vocis erat.
 485 fana tamen veteres illis clausere diebus,
 ut nunc ferali tempore operta vides.
 nec viduae taedis eadem nec virginis apta
 tempora : quae nupsit, non diuturna fuit.
 hac quoque de causa, si te proverbia tangunt,
 490 mense malum Maio nubere volgus ait.
 sed tamen haec tria sunt sub eodem tempore festa
 inter se nulla continuata die.

Quorum si mediis Boeotum Oriona quaeres,
 falsus eris. signi causa canenda mihi.
 495 Iuppiter et lato qui regnat in aequore frater
 carpebant socias Mercuriusque vias.
 tempus erat, quo versa iugo referuntur aratra,
 et pronus saturae lac bibit agnus ovis.
 forte senex Hyrieus, angusti cultor agelli,
 500 hos videt, exiguum stabat ut ante casam ;
 atque ita " longa via est, nec tempora longae supersunt,"
 dixit " et hospitibus ianua nostra patet."
 addidit et voltum verbis iterumque rogavit :
 parent promissis dissimulantque deos.
 505 tecta senis subeunt nigro deformia fumo ;
 ignis in hesterno stipite parvus erat.
 ipse genu nixus flammam exsuscitat aura
 et promit quassas comminuitque faces.
 stant calices ; minor inde fabas, holus alter habebat,
 510 et spumat testu pressus uterque suo.
 dumque mora est, tremula dat vina rubentia dextra :
 accipit aequoreus pocula prima deus.

484. hic *UDMm*³ : hinc *Xm*¹ : is a few *S*. verbi *UDMm*³ : verbis *Xm*¹.

485. veteres *UDXMm* : lemures old editions (referred to by Merkel, who cites no MS. authority).

486. operta *DXM¹mCF¹S* : aperta *UM*³. vides *DXMm* : vident *UCS*.

490. malum maio *D¹Xm¹S* : malum est maio *D²m³FG¹S* : malas maio *UMm*³. 491. tempore *UDMm*³ : nomine *Xm*¹

493. quorum *UDMm*¹ : quarum *Xm*³. boeotum *U* : boetum *DXm*¹ : bootum *M* : boeton *m*³. quaeres *U* : quaeris *XM* : quacras *m* : queras *D*.

494. Instead of this verse, *X* here repeats verse 480 with the change of illa est for illam. canenda *UDMm*¹ : docenda *m*³. mihi *UDm* : mihi est *M*.

souls of the silent multitude were also called *Lemures*: that is the meaning of the word, that is the force of the expression. But the ancients shut the temples on these days, as even now you see them closed at the season sacred to the dead. The times are unsuitable for the marriage both of a widow and a maid: she who marries then, will not live long. For the same reason, if you give weight to proverbs, common folk say 'tis ill to wed in May. But these three festivals fall about the same time, though not on three consecutive days.

V. ID. 11th.

If you look for Bocotian Orion on the middle of these 10 three days, you will be disappointed. I must now sing of the cause of the constellation. Jupiter, and his brother who reigns in the deep sea, and Mercury, were journeying together. It was the time when the yoked kine draw home the upturned plough, and the lamb lies down and drinks 15 the milk of the full ewe. An old man Hyrieus, who cultivated a tiny farm, chanced to see them as he stood before his little cottage; and thus he spoke: "Long is the way, but short the hours of daylight left, and my door is open to strangers." He enforced his words by a look, and again 20 invited them. They accepted the offer and dissembled their divinity. They passed beneath the old man's roof, begrimed with black smoke; a little fire was glimmering in the log of yesterday. He knelt and blew up the flames with his breath, and drawing forth the stumps of torches he chopped them up. 25 Two pipkins stood on the fire; the lesser contained beans, the other kitchen herbs; both boiled, each under the pressure of its lid. While he waited, he served out red wine with shaky hand. The god of the sea received the first cup.

498. pronus *UDMm*¹: pronum *Xm*².

499. hyrieus *U*: hureus *D*: hirteus *Xm*²: hireus *M*: hyrtheus *m*¹: hyreus *m*² and most MSS.

506. hesterno *UDXM*^{1m}: extremo *M*².

507. exsuscitat aura *Xm*¹: excussit ab aura *UDMm*².

508. promit *UDMm*²: profert *Xm*¹. quassas *UDXM*^{1m}: siccas *M*².
Compare Metamorph. iii. 508, "quassasque faces."

509. holus *UM*: olus *DXm*.

510. spumat *UDX*^{2M}: spumant *Xm*¹. testu . . . suo *m*²: testo . . . suo *UX*: textu . . . suo *m*¹(corrected): testa . . . sua *DM*. As to testu compare Fasti ii. 645.

- quae simul exhaustit, " da nunc bibat ordine " dixit
 " Iuppiter." audito palluit ille Iove.
 515. ut rediit animus, cultorem pauperis agri
 immolat et magno torret in igne bovem ;
 quaeque puer quondam primis diffuderat annis,
 promit fumoso condita vina cado.
 nec mora, flumineam lino celantibus ulvam,
 520 sic quoque non altis, incubuere toris.
 nunc dape, nunc posito mensae nituere Lyaeo :
 terra rubens crater, pocula fagus erant.
 verba fuere Iovis : " siquid fert impetus, opta :
 omne feres." placidi verba fuere senis :
 525 " cara fuit coniunx, primae mihi flore iuventae
 cognita. nunc ubi sit, quaeritis ? urna tegit.
 huic ego iuratus, vobis in verba vocatis,
 ' coniugio ' dixi ' sola fruire meo.'
 et dixi et servo. sed enim diversa voluntas
 530 est mihi ; nec coniunx, sed pater esse volo."
 annuerant omnes : omnes ad terga iuvençī
 constiterant—pudor est ulteriora loqui—
 tum superiniecta texere madentia terra ;
 iamque decem menses, et puer ortus erat.
 535 hunc Hyrieus, quia sic genitus, vocat Uriona :
 perdidit antiquum littera prima sonum.
 creverat immensum ; comitem sibi Delia sumpsit,
 ille deae custos, ille satelles erat.
 verba movent iram non circumspecta deorum :
 540 " quam nequeam " dixit " vincere, nulla fera est."
 scorpion immisit Tellus : fuit impetus illi
 curva gemelliparae spicula ferre deae ;
 obstitit Orion. Latona nitentibus astris
 addidit et " meriti praemia " dixit " habe."

514. palluit *UDXMm*³ : palpavit *m*¹.

517. diffuderat *UDXMm* : defuderat *Heinsius*.

518. promit *UDXMm*³ : prodit *m*¹.

520. incubuere *UDXMm* : discubuerunt *F* and *two* 5.

521. nituere *UDXm* : enituere *M*.

522. erant *UXMm* : erat *DBCS*.

523. opta *UXm* : ora *DM*.

524. omne feres *UDMm*¹ : omnia tum *Xm*³.

525. primae mihi flore iuventae *Bentley* : primae mihi cura iuventae *Xm*³ ;
 primae mihi cara iuventae *m*¹ : carae michi prima iuventae *U* : cara mihi prima
 iuventa *DM*.

When he had drained it, "Now serve the drink," said he, "to Jupiter in order." At the word Jupiter the old man paled. When he recovered himself, he sacrificed the ox that ploughed his poor land, and he roasted it in a great fire; and the wine which as a boy he had laid up in his early years, he brought forth stored in its smoky jar. And straightway they reclined on mattresses stuffed with river sedge and covered with linen, but lowly still. The table shone, now with the viands, now with the wine set down on it: the bowl was of red earthenware, the cups were beechen wood. 10 Quoth Jupiter: "If thou hast any fancy, choose: all will be thine." The calm old man thus spoke: "I had a dear wife, whose love I won in the flower of early youth. Where is she now? you ask. The urn her ashes holds. To her I swore, and called you gods to witness, 'Thou shalt be my 15 only spouse.' I gave my word, and I keep it. But a different wish is mine: I would be, not a husband, but a father." All the gods assented: all took their stand at the bullock's hide—I am ashamed to describe what followed—then they covered the reeking hide by throwing earth on 20 it: when ten months had passed, a boy was born. Him Hyrieus called Urion on account of the mode of his begetting: the first letter of his name has lost its ancient sound. He grew to an enormous size; the Delian goddess took him to be her companion; he was her guardian, he her attendant. 25 Heedless words excite the wrath of gods. "There is no wild beast," said he, "which I cannot master." Earth egged on a scorpion: its mission was to attack the Goddess Mother of Twins with its hooked fangs. Orion threw himself in the way. Latona set him among the shining stars, 30 and said, "Take thy well-earned reward."

526. cognita *UDMm*³: condita *Xm*¹.

528. dixi *DXMm*: dixit *U*. fruere *UD³XMm*: fuere *D*¹.

530. nec *UDXM¹m*: non *M*³. sed *UDMm*¹: et *Xm*³.

531. annuerant *UDXMm*: adnuerant *Peter, Ehwald-Lewy*.

533. tum *UDXM³m*¹: tunc *M¹m*³.

535. quia sic *UDX*: qua sit *M*⁵: quia sit *C*⁵. uriona *DMm*³: oriona *UXm*¹.

537. creverat *UDXM¹m*: crevit in *M*³. sumpsit *UDXM¹m*: fecit *M*³.

539. iram *U*: iras *DXMm*.

542. gemelliparae *UDM*: gemelliferae *X*.

543. astris *UDX³M*: austris *X¹m*. 544. meriti *UDXMm*³: meritis *m*¹.

- 545 Sed quid et Orion et cetera sidera mundo
cedere festinant, noxque coartat iter ?
quid solito citius liquido iubar aequore tollit
candida, Lucifero praeveniente, dies ?
fallor, an arma sonant ? non fallimur, arma sonabant :
- 550 Mars venit et veniens bellica signa dedit.
Ultor ad ipse suos caelo descendit honores
templaque in Augusto conspicienda foro.
et deus est ingens et opus : debebat in urbe
non aliter nati Mars habitare sui.
- 555 digna Giganteis haec sunt delubra tropaeis :
hinc fera Gradivum bella movere decet,
seu quis ab Eoo nos impius orbe lacesset,
seu quis ab occiduo sole domandus erit
prospicit armipotens operis fastigia summi
560 et probat invictos summa tenere deos.
prospicit in foribus diversae tela figurae
armaque terrarum milite victa suo.
hinc videt Aenean oneratum pondere caro
et tot Iulcae nobilitatis avos :
- 565 hinc videt Iliaden humeris ducis arma ferentem,
claraque dispositis acta subesse viris
spectat et Augusto praetextum nomine templum,
et visum lecto Caesare maius opus.
voverat hoc iuvenis tunc, cum pia sustulit arma :
- 570 a tantis Princeps incipiendus erat.
ille manus tendens, hinc stanti milite iusto,
hinc coniuratis, talia dicta dedit :

545. sed quid *UXM²m* : quid quod *DM¹*. mundo *U¹(f)DXM²m²* :
mundi *U²* : nymbo *m¹* : caelo *M¹*.

546. coartat *UDXm¹* : coartat *Mm²*

547. liquido *UDXm* : nitido *M*.

551. ultor *UDXm* : victor *M*.

552. augusto *UDXm²* : angusto *m¹*.

555. tropaeis *U¹* : trophaeis *U²DX²M* : trophaeis *m²* : vetustis *m¹*.

557. orbe *UDXm* : urbe *M*. lacesset *UMm²* : lacescit *DXm¹BC*.

559. prospicit *M and many* *5* : perspicit *UDXm*.

560. invictos . . . deos *U²DMm* : invictas . . . deas *U¹XS*. summa
UDXm : sola *M*.

561. prospicit *Mm and many* *5* : perspicit *UDX*. tela *U¹DXMm* :
vela *U²*. figurae *UDXm* : sagittae *M*.

563. oneratum *DMm* : honeratum *U* : operatum *X*. caro *UDXm²* :
sacro *three* *5*.

IV. ID. 12th.

But why do Orion and the other stars haste to withdraw from the sky? And why does night shorten her course? Why does the bright day, heralded by the Morning Star, raise its radiant light faster than usual from the watery main? Do I err, or was there a clash of arms? I err not, there was 5 a clash of arms. Mars comes, and at his coming he gave the sign of war. The Avenger descends himself from heaven to behold his own honours and his splendid temple in the forum of Augustus. The god is huge, and so is the structure: no otherwise ought Mars to dwell in his son's city. That 10 shrine is worthy of trophies won from giants; from it might the Marching God fitly open his fierce campaigns, whether an impious foe shall assail us from the eastern world or whether another will have to be vanquished where the sun goes down. The god of arms surveys the pinnacles of the 15 lofty edifice, and approves that the highest places should be filled by the unconquered gods. He surveys on the doors weapons of diverse shapes, and arms of lands subdued by his soldiery. On this side he sees Aeneas laden with his dear burden, and many an ancestor of the noble Julian line. 20 On the other side he sees Romulus carrying on his shoulders the arms of the conquered leader, and their famous deeds inscribed beneath the statues arranged in order. He beholds, too, the name of Augustus on the front of the temple; and the building seems to him still greater, when he reads the 25 name of Caesar. Augustus had vowed it in his youth at the time when he took up arms in duty's cause. Deeds so great were worthy to inaugurate a prince's reign. While the loyal troops stood on the one side, and the conspirators on the other, he stretched forth his hands and spoke these 30

 565. humeris UDX^1Mm^1 : humilis X^2m^2 .

 566. dispositis UDX^2Mm' : depositis X^1m^2 . acta $UDXM^2m$: arma M^2 .

 567. praetextum $UDXMm^2$: praetexto m^1 .

 568. visum $UDXm$: visum est M . lecto $UDMm$: tecto X .

 569. hoc UX^2M^2 : haec DM^2m (corrected): hic X^1 . tunc UMm^2 : tum DXm^1 .

 571. hinc stanti DXM^1m : instanti UM^2 .

 572. hinc coniuratis DXm : in coniuratis U^1 : in coniuratos U^2M .

- " si mihi bellandi pater est Vestaeque sacerdos
 auctor, et ulcisci numen utrumque paro :
 575 Mars, ades et satia scelerato sanguine ferrum,
 stetque favor causa pro meliore tuus.
 templa feres et, me victore, vocaberis Ultor."
 voverat et fuso laetus ab hoste redit.
 nec satis est meruisse semel cognomina Marti :
 580 persequitur Parthi signa retenta manu.
 gens fuit et campis et equis et tuta sagittis
 et circumfusus invia fluminibus.
 addiderant animos Crassorum funera genti,
 cum periit miles signaque duxque simul.
 585 signa, decus belli, Parthus Romana tenebat,
 Romanaeque aquilae signifer hostis erat.
 isque pudor mansisset adhuc, nisi fortibus armis
 Caesaris Ausoniae protegerentur opes.
 ille notas veteres et longi dedecus aevi
 590 sustulit : agnorunt signa recepta suos.
 quid tibi nunc solitae mitti post terga sagittae,
 quid loca, quid rapidi profuit usus equi,
 Parthe ? refers aquilas, victos quoque porrigis arcus :
 pignora iam nostri nulla pudoris habes.
 595 rite deo templumque datum nomenque bis ulto,
 et meritis voti debita solvit honor.
 sollemnes ludos Circo celebrate, Quirites !
 non visa est fortem scaena decere deum.

Pliadas aspicias omnes totumque sororum
 600 agmen, ubi ante Idus nox erit una super.

573. est DXm : es $UMB\zeta$.
 574. numen $UDMm^2$: nomen Xm^1 .
 575. satia UMm^1 : sacia X : sacies D . scelerato UDX^2Mm^1 : cele-
 brato X^1m^1 .
 577. templa U^2DXM^1m : tela U^1M^2 .
 579. meruisse UDX^2Mm^2 : meminisse λ^1m^1 . semel UM : sui DX^2m^2 :
 mei X^1m^1 : sibi m^2 : satis $BCF\zeta$. marti D : martis $UXMm$.
 580. persequitur UXm^2 : prosequitur $DMm^1\zeta$. parthi XMm : parti D :
 parthis U : partha $Heinsius$.
 582. invia UXm : ianua M : undique D and three ζ .
 583. addiderant UX^2Mm^1 : et adderant X^1m^1 : addiderantque Dm^2 .
 585. decus U^2DXM^2m : ducis U^1M^1 .
 590. agnorunt UX^2Mm : agnoscunt D : armorum X^1 .
 595. nomenque U^2DXMm : numenque U^1 . bis ulto $DXM^1m^1BCFG\zeta$:
 bis ultor $U^2M^2m^2$: bis ultum U^1 .

words : " If my father, Vesta's priest, is my warrant for waging war, and I do now prepare to avenge both his divinity and hers, come, Mars, and glut the sword with knavish blood, and grant thy favour to the better cause. Thou shalt receive a temple, and shalt be called Avenger, when victory is mine." So he vowed, and returned rejoicing from the routing of the foe. Nor is he content to have earned once for all the surname of Avenger for Mars : he tracks down the standards detained by the hands of the Parthians. These were a nation whom their plains, their horses, and their arrows rendered safe, and surrounding rivers made inaccessible. The pride of the nation had been fostered by the deaths of Crassus and his son, when soldiers, general, and standards perished together. The Parthians kept the Roman standards, the glory of war, and a foe was the standard-bearer of the Roman eagle. That shame would have endured till now, had not Ausonia's empire been guarded by Caesar's powerful arms. He put an end to the old reproach, to the disgrace of a whole generation : the recovered standards knew their true owners again. What now availed thee, thou Parthian, the arrows thou art wont to shoot behind thy back ? What availed thy deserts ? What the use of the fleet steed ? Thou bringest back the eagles ; thou tenderest, too, thy conquered bows. Now thou hast no tokens of our shame. Justly have the temple and the title of Avenger been given to the god, who has earned that title twice over ; and the well-deserved honour has paid the debt incurred by the vow. Quirites, celebrate the solemn games in the Circus : the stage seems little to befit a valiant god.

30

III ID. 13th.

You will behold all the Pleiades, even the whole bevy of sisters, when there shall be one night remaining before the

596. et meritis *UDXm*¹ : emeritis *Mm*².

597. sollemnes *UD* : sollemnes *Mm*² : sollemni *X* : sollemni *m*¹. circo *UXMm*¹ : circum *Dm*².

598. non *UDXm* : nunc *M*.

599. pliadæ *UX* : pleiadas *D* : pleiidas *m* : pleidas *M* : pleiades *BFGS*.

600. idus *UDMm*¹ : diem *X* (*in erasure*) *m*².

tum mihi non dubiis auctoribus incipit aestas,
et tepidi finem tempora veris habent.

- Idibus ora prior stellantia tollere Taurum
indicat. huic signo fabula nota subest.
605 praebuit, ut taurus, Tyriae sua terga puellae
Iuppiter et falsa cornua fronte tulit.
illa iubam dextra, laeva retinebat amictus,
et timor ipse novi causa decoris erat.
aura sinus implet, flavos movet aura capillos :
610 Sidoni, sic fueras aspicienda Iovi.
saepe puellares subduxit ab aequore plantas
et metuit tactus assilientis aquae :
saepe deus prudens tergum demisit in undas,
haereat ut collo fortius illa suo.
615 litoribus tactis stabat sine cornibus ullis
Iuppiter inque deum de bove versus erat.
taurus init caelum : te, Sidoni, Iuppiter ~~ix~~plet,
parsque tuum terrae tertia nomen habet.
hoc alii signum Phariam dixere iuvencam,
620 quae bos ex homine est, ex bove facta dea.
tum quoque priscorum virgo simulacra virorum
mittere roboreo scirpea ponte solet.
625 fama vetus tunc, cum Saturnia terra vocata est,
talìa fatidici dicta fuisse Iovis :
“ falcifero libata seni duo corpora, gentes,
mittite, quae Tuscis excipiantur aquis : ”

601. tum $UDXm^1$: tunc Mm^2C^5 .

603. ora prior UDX^2M : hora prior m^2 : aurati X^1m^1 . taurum
 UX^1Mm : thaurum D : taurus X^2 .

604. nota UDX^1M^1m : nostra M^2 .

605. ut taurus tyriae $UDMm$: ut tyriae taurus X .

608. novi UDX^2Mm^1 : iovi X^1m^2 .

613. demisit U^5 : demittit Mm^1 : dimittit DXm^2BCFG^5 .

614. haereat ut UX^2Mm : haereat ut D : haerebat X^1 .

619. alii U^2DXm^1 : caeli U^1Mm^2BCF and many S .

620. dea UMm^1 : dea est DXm^2 .

621. tum $UDXm^2BFG^5$, *Lactantius*, *Divin. Institut.* i. 21 : tunc Mm^1 .

622. mittere U^2DXMm : mitti U^1 . *Following a suggestion of J. P. Postgate I have transposed verses 623, 624 after verse 634, where they are more appropriate. The same transposition has been accepted by Peter in his fourth edition (1907) and by Davies in Postgate's Corpus Poetarum Latinorum.*

625. tunc UDm^2 : tum XMm^1 .

626. dicta $UDXm$: verba M . fuisse DXm : fuere UM . iovis

Ides. Then summer begins, as I learn from sure authorities, and the season of warm spring comes to an end.

PR. ID. 14th.

The day before the Ides marks the time when the Bull lifts his starry front. This constellation is explained by a familiar tale. Jupiter in the shape of a bull offered his back 5 to the Tyrian maid and wore horns on his false brow. She held the bull's mane in her right hand, her drapery in her left; and her very fear lent her fresh grace. The breeze fills the robe on her bosom, it stirs her yellow hair; Sidonian damsel, thus indeed it became thee to meet the gaze of Jove. 10 Oft did she withdraw her girlish soles from the sea, and feared the contact of the dashing wave; often the god knowingly plunged his back into the billows, that she might cling the closer to his neck. On reaching the shore, Jupiter stood without any horns, and the bull was turned into the 15 god. The bull passed into the sky: thou, Sidonian damsel, wast got with child by Jupiter, and a third part of the earth doth bear thy name. Others say that this constellation is the Pharian heifer, which from a human being was made a cow, and from a cow was made a goddess. 20

Then, too, the Virgin is wont to throw the rush-made effigies of ancient men from the oaken bridge. There is an old tradition, that when the land was called Saturnia these words were spoken by soothsaying Jove: "Ye clans, cast into the water of the Tuscan river two bodies as a sacrifice 25 to the Ancient who bears the sickle." The gloomy

m³G¹: senis UDXMm¹ and apparently most MSS.: dei one S (as a variant). The oracle to which Ovid here refers has been preserved and is said to have been given by Jupiter (Zeus) at Dodona (see the Commentary, vol. iv. p. 110). Hence the true reading in this line would seem to be iovis, for which most scribes have substituted senis, identifying the oracular god with Saturn, who is referred to as seni in the following line. The repetition senis . . . seni in successive lines is of itself suspicious.

627. libata UDXMm¹: libate M². duo corpora UDXMm and apparently all other MSS.: quot corpora Merkel²: senilia (for seni duo) corpora H. Jordan (Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum, ii. 282). gentes DMm³: gentis UXm¹ and a few S.

628. mittite UDMm³: mitti Xm¹.

- donec in haec venit Tirynthius arva, quotannis
 630 tristia Leucadio sacra peracta modo ;
 illum stramineos in aquam misisse Quirites :
 Herculis exemplo corpora falsa iaci.
 pars putat, ut ferrent iuvenes suffragia soli,
 pontibus infirmos praecipitasse senes.
 623 corpora post decies senos qui credidit annos
 624 missa neci, sceleris crimine damnat avos.
 635 Thybri, doce verum. tua ripa vetustior urbe est,
 principium ritus tu bene nosse potes.
 Thybris harundiferum medio caput extulit alveo
 raucaque dimovit talibus ora sonis :
 " haec loca desertas vidi sine moenibus herbas :
 640 pascebat sparsas utraque ripa boves,
 et quem nunc gentes Tiberim noruntque timentque,
 tunc etiam pecori despiciendus eram.
 Arcadis Evandri nomen tibi saepe refertur :
 ille meas remis advena torsit aquas.
 645 venit et Alcides, turba comitatus Achiva
 (Albula, si memini, tunc mihi nomen erat) :
 excipit hospitio iuvenem Pallantius heros,
 et tandem Caco debita poena venit.
 victor abit secumque boves, Erytheïda praedam,
 650 abstrahit. at comites longius ire negant
 (magnaue pars horum desertis venerat Argis) :
 montibus his ponunt spemque laremque suum
 saepe tamen patriae dulci tanguntur amore,
 atque aliquis moriens hoc breve mandat opus :
 655 ' mittite me in Tiberim, Tiberinis vectus ut undis
 litus ad Inachium pulvis inanis eam.'
 displicet heredi mandati cura sepulchri :
 mortuus Ausonia conditur hospes humo,

629. in *UDXM¹m* : ad *M¹*.

630. modo *UXm¹5*, *Lactantius*, *Divin. Institut. i. 21* : deo *DMm¹* and
most NSS. 633. suffragia *UDMm¹* : solatia *Xm¹*.

623. senos *DXMm* : scenos *U*.

635. thybri *Um¹* : tybri *m¹* : thibri *X* : tibri *DM*.

636. nosse *UDXM* : nosce *m*. potes *UDXm* : putes *M*.

639. desertas vidi *UDMm¹* : quae deserta vides *Xm¹*.

640. sparsas *UDXMm* : sparsos *other NSS*. (" meliores " *Heinsius*).

641. quem *UDXMm¹* : quae *m¹*. tiberim *DM* : tyberin (*f*) *U* :
 tyberim *m* : thiberim *X*. 642. eram *UM* : erat *DXm*.

rite was performed, so runs the tale, in the Leucadian manner every year, until the Tirynthian hero came to these fields; he cast men of straw into the water, and now dummies are thrown after the example set by Hercules. Some think that the young men used to hurl the feeble old 5 men from the bridges, in order that they themselves alone should have the vote. He who believes that after sixty years men were put to death, accuses our forefathers of a wicked crime. "O Tiber, inform me of the truth: thy bank is older than the city: thou canst well know the origin 10 of the rite." The Tiber raised his reed-crowned head from the mid channel, and opened his hoarse mouth to utter these words: "These regions I have seen when they were solitary grass-lands without any city walls: scattered kine pastured on either bank; and I, the Tiber, whom the nations now both 15 know and fear, was then a thing to be despised even by cattle. You often hear mention of the name of Arcadian Evander: he came from far and churned my waters with his oars. Alcides also came, attended by a troop of Greeks. At that time, if I remember aright, my name was Albula. 20 The Pallantian hero received him hospitably; and Cacus got at last the punishment he deserved. The victorious Hercules departed and carried off with him the kine, the booty he had taken from Erythea. But his companions refused to go farther: a great part of them had come from 25 Argos, which they abandoned. On these hills they set their hope and their home; yet were they often touched by the sweet love of their native land, and one of them in dying gave this brief charge: 'Throw me into the Tiber, that, borne upon his waves, my empty dust may pass to the 30 Inachian shore.' His heir disliked the charge of sepulture thus laid on him: the dead stranger was buried in Ausonian

648. venit Xm^1 (approved by Heinsius): fuit UDM^3FG and many \bar{S} .

649. erytheida M : eritheida X : eritheda D : eretheidas U : erytheidas m^2 .
praedam DXM^1 : ultor Um^1 .

650. at DX : ac m : et UM . negant $DXMm$: iubet U .

651. venerat argis Heinsius: venerat agris UXm^1 : mansit in agris DM^3

653. tanguntur $UDXM^3m$: torquentur M^2 .

655. mittite me in tyberim Um : mittite me in thiberim X : mitte me in tiberim M : mittite me tiberim D : mittite me tyberi Heinsius. ut undis m^2 : et undis m^1 : in undis $UDXM^3G$ and many \bar{S} .

- scirpea pro domino Tiberi iactatur imago,
 660 ut repetat Graias per freta longa domos."
 hactenus, et subiit vivo rorantia saxo
 antra : leves cursum sustinuistis aquae.

- Clare nepos Atlantis, ades, quem montibus olim
 edidit Arcadiis Pleias una Iovi,
 665 pacis et armorum superis imisque deorum
 arbiter, alato qui pede carpis iter,
 laete lyrae pulsu, nitida quoque lacte palaestra,
 quo didicit culte lingua docente loqui,
 templa tibi posuere patres spectantia Circum
 670 Idibus : ex illo est haec tibi festa dies.
 te, quicumque suas profitentur vendere merces,
 ture dato, tribuas ut sibi lucra, rogant.
 est aqua Mercurii portae vicina Capenae ;
 si iuvat expertis credere, numen habet.
 675 huc venit incinctus tunica mercator et urra
 purus suffita, quam ferat, haurit aquam.
 uda fit hinc laurus, lauro sparguntur ab uda
 omnia, quae dominos sunt habitura novos ;
 spargit et ipse suos lauro rorante capillos
 680 et peragit solita fallere voce preces :
 " abluce praeteriti periuria temporis," inquit
 " abluc praeteritae perfida verba dic.
 sive ego te feci testem falsove citavi
 non audituri numina magna Iovis,

659. tiberi *DM* : tyberi *U¹m¹* : thiberi *X* : in tyberim *U²* : in tiberim *m²*.

660. graias *UDMm²* : longas *Xm¹*.

661. et *DXM²m²CGS* : ut *UM¹m¹F* and many *S* (approved by Heinsius).
 (With hactenus, et compare Ovid, Amores, iii. 1. 31 "Hactenus, et movit";
 id. iii. 6. 79 "Hactenus, et vestem tumidis praetendit ocellis"). subiit
 vivo *UDXm²* : vivo subiit *Mm²*.

662. cursum *UXMm* : cursus *D*. restituistis (for sustinuistis)
Kreussler (Observationes in Ovidii Fastos, p. 8), perhaps rightly.

664. una *UDXM* : unda *m* : uda Bentley.

668. docente *UDMm²* : favente *Xm¹*.

670. tibi *UDMm* : tua *X*. festa *D²Mm²* : facta *U¹D¹Xm¹* : sacra
U²S⁵. 671. profitentur *UXMm* : profitetur *D*.

672. lucra *UDMm²* : iura *Xm²* : thura *m¹*. rogant *UXMm* : rogat *D*.

674. numen *U²DXMm* : nomen *U¹*.

675. tunica *UDMm²* and apparently most MSS. : tunicas *Xm¹CS* : tunicam
 as a variant in a single MS. With incinctus tunica compare verse 217 "incinctae
 vestibus"; Ovid, Heroides, ix. 66 "incingi zona"; Amores, iii. 8. 47
 "incingere moenibus urbes."

ground, and an effigy of rushes was thrown into the Tiber instead of him, that it might return to his Greek home across the waters wide." Thus far did Tiber speak, then passed into the dripping cave of living rock: ye nimble waters checked your flow.

5

IDUS. 15th.

Come, thou famed grandson of Atlas, thou whom of old upon the Arcadian mountains one of the Pleiads bore to Jupiter. Thou arbiter of peace and war to gods above and gods below, thou who dost ply thy way on winged foot; thou who dost delight in the music of the lyre, and dost 10 delight too in the wrestling-school, glistening with oil; thou by whose instruction the tongue learns to discourse elegantly, the senate founded for thee on the Ides a temple looking towards the Circus: since then the day has been thy festival. All who make a business of selling their wares 15 give thee incense and beg that thou wouldst grant them gain. There is a water of Mercury near the Capene Gate: if you care to take the word of those who have tried it, there is a divinity in the water. Hithér comes the merchant with his tunic girt up, and, ceremonially pure, draws water in a 20 fumigated jar to carry it away. With the water he wets a laurel bough, and with the wet bough he sprinkles all the goods that soon are to change owners; he sprinkles, too, his own hair with the dripping laurel and recites prayers in a voice accustomed to deceive. "Wash away the perjuries 25 of past time," says he, "wash away my glozing words of the past day. Whether I have called thee to witness, or have falsely invoked the great divinity of Jupiter, in the expectation that he would not hear, or whether I have

676. suffita quam *D*: suffitam quam *U*: suffit aquam *Xm*¹: suffusa quam *Mm*¹. ferat *U*¹*DMm*¹: ferit *U*¹: suffit et *Xm*².

677. uda fit *UDMm*(corrected): una *Xm*². ab uda *UDMm*²: ab unda *Xm*¹. 678. sunt *UDXm*¹: sint *m*².

679. spargit *UDMm*: sparsit *X*.

680. solita *UDM*: solitas *Xm*.

682. praeteritae *Scaliger*: praeterita *UDX*²*M*: praeterito *m*¹: praeterea *X*¹*m*².

683. falsove *UDM*: falsoque *m*¹: falsusque *X*: falsusve *m*².

684. numina *UDXm*: nomina *M*. magna *DXm*¹: vana *UMm*².

- 685 sive deum prudens alium divamve fefelli,
 abstulerint celeres improba verba Noti,
 et pateant veniente die periuria nobis,
 nec curent superi si qua locutus ero.
 da modo lucra mihi, da facto gaudia lucro,
 690 et fac, ut emptori verba dedisse iuвет.”
 talia Mercurius poscentem ridet ab alto,
 se memor Ortygias surripuisse boves.

- At mihi pande, precor, tanto meliora petenti,
 in Geminos ex quo tempore Phoebus eat.
 695 “ cum totidem de mense dies superesse videbis,
 quot sunt Herculei facta laboris ” ait.
 “ dic ” ego respondi “ causam mihi sideris huius.”
 causam facundo reddidit ore deus :
 “ abstulerant raptas Phoeben Phoebesque sororem
 700 Tyndaridae fratres, hic cques, ille pugil.
 bella parant repetuntque suas et frater ei idas,
 Leucippo fieri pactus uterque gener.
 his amor, ut repetant, illis, ut reddere nolint,
 suadet ; et ex causa pugnat uterque pari.
 705 effugere Oebalidae cursu potuere sequentes,
 sed visum celeri vincere turpe fuga.
 liber ab arboribus locus est, apta area pugnae :
 constiterant illic : nomen Aphidna loco.
 pectora traiectus Lynceo Castor ab ense
 710 non expectato vulnere pressit humum.
 ultor adest Pollux et Lynceea perforat hasta,
 qua cervix humeros continuata premit.

686. verba *UDMm*³ : dicta *Xm*¹.

687. pateant *UDXm*⁵ ; pereant *MB*⁵. dic *UDMm* : deo *X*.

688. curent *UDMm*¹ : iurent *Xm*³.

690. fac *U¹DXm* : face *U³M*.

691. poscentem *U*(corrected, final e in erasure)⁵ : poscentes *DMm*
 (corrected) : poscenti *Xm*³.

693. pande *UDMm*³ : parce *Xm*¹. tanto *U¹DXM¹m¹* : multo *U³M³m³*.

695. de mense dies superesse *UXMm* : superesse dies de mense *D*.

697. ego *UDXMM*¹ : age *m*³. sideris *UDM*¹ : syderis *Xm* : foederis
*M*³.

698. causam *UDMm*³ : causas *Xm*¹. reddidit *UDXM*¹*m* : rettulit
*M*³ : prodidit *three* *5*.

702. leucippo *UDM*³*m* : leucipro *X* : leucippi *M*¹.

703. nolint *UMm*³ : nolunt *D(f)Xm*¹.

knowingly taken in vain the name of any other god or goddess, let the swift south winds carry away the wicked words, and may to-morrow open the door for me to fresh perjuries, and may the gods above not care if I shall utter any! Only grant me profits, grant me the joy of profit made, and see 5 to it that I enjoy cheating the buyer!" At such prayers Mercury laughs from on high, remembering that he himself stole the Ortygian kine.

XIII. KAL. IVN. 20th.

But I put up a far better prayer. Unfold to me, I beseech thee, at what time Phœbus passes into the sign of 10 the Twins. "When thou shalt see," he answered, "that as many days of the month remain over as are the labours of Hercules." "Tell me," I replied, "the cause of this constellation." The god in answer explained the cause in eloquent speech. The brother Tyndarids, the one a 15 horseman, the other a boxer, had ravished and carried away Phoebe and Phoebe's sister. Idas and his brother prepare for war and demand the restitution of their brides; for both of them had covenanted with Leucippus to be his sons-in-law. Love prompts the one pair to demand the restitution, the 20 other to refuse it; each pair is spurred on to fight by the like motive. The Oeбалids might have escaped their pursuers by superior speed; but it seemed base to win by rapid flight. There is a place free from trees, a suitable ground for a fight: they took their stand there: the name of the 25 place is Aphidna. Pierced through the breast by the sword of Lynceus—a wound he had not looked for—Castor fell to the ground. Pollux comes up to avenge him, and runs Lynceus through with his spear at the point where the neck* joins on to and presses upon the shoulders. Idas attacked 30

704. ex causa UDM: a causa Xm. pari UDMm²: deus Xm¹.

706. visum celeri U¹DXm¹: visum est celeri U²Mm². fuga UDMm²: deos Xm¹.

708. illic Xm: illo UDM. nomen aphidna Xm²: nomina fida U (corrected)DMm¹ and apparently most other MSS.

711. ultor UDM¹: victor XMm².

712. premit DXm¹CS: tegit UMM²S.

- ibat in hunc Idas vixque est Iovis igne repulsus,
 tela tamen dextrae fulmine rapta negant.
 715 iamque tibi, Pollux, caelum sublime patebat,
 cum ' mea ' dixisti ' percipe verba, pater :
 quod mihi das uni caelum, partire duobus :
 dimidium toto munere maius erit.'
 dixit et alterna fratrem statione redemit.
 720 utile sollicitae sidus utrumque rati."

Ad Ianum redeat, qui quaerit, Agonia quid sint :
 quae tamen in fastis hoc quoque tempus habent

Nocte sequente diem canis Erigoneius exit :
 est alio signi reddita causa loco.

- 725 Proxima Volcani lux est, Tubilustria dicunt :
 lustrantur purae, quas facit ille, tubae.

Quattuor inde notis locus est, quibus ordine lectis
 vel mos sacrorum vel fuga regis inest.

- 730 Nec te praeterco, populi Fortuna potentis
 Publica, cui templum luce sequente datum est.
 hanc ubi dives aquis acceperit Amphitrite,
 grata Iovi fulvae rostra videbis avis.

Auferet ex oculis veniens aurora Booten,
 continuaque die sidus Hyantis erit.

714. negant *UDMm*³ : necant *X* : vocant *m*¹.
 715. patebat *UDXMm*¹ : petebat *M*³.
 719. redemit *UXMm*¹ : recepit *Dm*²*B*⁵.
 720. utrumque *UDMm*¹ : uterque *Xm*³.
 721. quid sint *UMm*¹ : quid sit *D* : quae sunt *Xm*³.
 722. in fastis hoc *UDMm*³ : infaustus hoc *m*¹ : infactus haec *X*¹ : infantes
 haec *UX*³. 723. erigoneius *U* : erigoneus *DX* : erigonius *M*.
 725. tubilustria *U*³*m*³ : ubi lustria *U*³*Xm*¹*S*⁵ : quam lustria *DM*⁵.
 727. notis *UDM* : locis *Xm*³ : lotis *m*¹.
 728. regis *UDXMm* : tegis *X*¹.
 730. publica *DXMm* : puplica *U*. templum luce *UDXm* : templum
 est luce *M*. datum est *UDm*³ : datum *XMm*¹.
 731. amphitrite *XM* : amphitrites *Um* : amphitites *D*.
 732. avis *UDXMm*³ : aquis *m*¹.
 733. auferet *UDMm*³ : auferat *Xm*³ : aufert *m*¹. booten *UXm* :
 bootem *DM*.
 734. continuaque *UDM* : continuumque *Xm*. die *UDMm*¹ : dies
*Xm*³. hyantis *M* : hiantis *UXm* : iantis *D*.

him, and scarcely was repulsed by the fire of Jupiter ; yet they say that his weapon was not wrested from his right hand by the thunderbolt. And already the lofty heaven opened its door for thee, Pollux, when thou saidst, " Hear my words, O Father. The heaven that thou dost give to me alone, O 5 share between us two ; one-half the gift will be greater than the whole." He spoke, and redeemed his brother from death by changing places with him alternately. Both stars are helpful to the storm-tossed bark.

XII. KAL. 21st.

He who would learn what the Agonia are, may turn ¹⁰ back to January, though they have a place in the calendar at this season also.

XI. KAL. 22nd.

In the night that follows the day the dog of Erigone rises : I have given the explanation of this constellation in another place. 15

X. KAL. 23rd.

The next day belongs to Vulcan ; they call it Tubilustria. The trumpets which he makes are then cleansed and purified.

IX. KAL. 24th.

The next place is marked by four letters, which, read in order, signify either the custom of the sacred rites or the Flight of the King. 20

VIII. KAL. 25th.

Nor will I pass thee over, thou Public Fortune of the powerful people, to whom a temple was dedicated next day. When that day shall have sunk into Amphitrite's wealth of waters, thou wilt see the beak of the tawny bird, dear to Jupiter. 25

VII. KAL. 26th.

The coming morn will remove Bootes from thy sight, and next day the constellation of Hyas will be visible.

FASTORUM LIBER SEXTUS

LIBER SEXTUS

- Hic quoque mensis habet dubias in nomine causas.
 quae placeant, positis omnibus ipse leges.
 facta canam ; sed erunt qui me finxisse loquantur
 nullaque mortali numina visa putent.
- 5 est deus in nobis ; agitante calescimus illo :
 impetus hic sacrae semina mentis habet.
 fas mihi praecipue voltus vidisse deorum,
 vel quia sum vates, vel quia sacra cano.
 est nemus arboribus densum, secretus ab omni
- 10 voce locus, si non obstreperetur aquis.
 hic ego quaerebam, coepti quae mensis origo
 esset, et in cura nominis huius eram.
 ecce deas vidi, non quas praeceptor arandi
 viderat, Ascracas cum sequeretur oves,
- 15 nec quas Priamides in aquosae vallibus Idae
 contulit : ex illis sed tamen una fuit.
 ex illis fuit una, sui germana mariti ;
 haec erat (agnovi) quae stat in arce Iovis.
 horrueram tacitoque animum pallore fatebar ;
- 20 tum dea, quos fecit, sustulit ipsa metus.
 namque ait " o vates, Romani conditor anni,
 ause per exiguos magna referre modos,
 ius tibi fecisti numen caeleste videndi,
 cum placuit numeris condere festa tuis.
- 25 ne tamen ignores volgique errore traharis,
 Iunius a nostro nomine nomen habet.
 est aliquid nupsisse Iovi, Iovis esse sororem :
 fratre magis, dubito, glorier, anne viro.
 si genus aspicitur, Saturnum prima parentem
- 30 feci, Saturni sors ego prima fui.

1. in *U* (written as +, a symbol repeatedly employed in this MS., e.g. verses 237, 385, 443) *XM^m* : ex *Dm^a* : de *M^a*.

2. placeant *UDXM^m* : placeat *one* *S*. leges *DXM^m* : lege *U* and *two* *S* : legas *S*.

BOOK VI

THE explanations of this month's name also are doubtful. I will state them all, and you shall choose which you please. I'll sing the truth, but some will say I lied, and think that no deities were ever seen by mortal. There is a god within us. It is when he stirs us that our bosom warms ; it is his impulse ⁵ that sows the seeds of inspiration. I have a peculiar right to see the faces of the gods, whether because I am a bard, or because I sing of sacred things. There is a grove where trees grow thick, a spot sequestered from every sound except the purl of water. There I was musing on what might be ¹⁰ the origin of the month just begun, and was meditating on its name. Lo, I beheld the goddesses, but not those whom the teacher of ploughing beheld when he followed his Ascræan sheep ; nor those whom Priam's son compared in watery Ida's dells ; yet one there was of these. Of these ¹⁵ there was one, the sister of her husband : she it was, I recognized, who stands within Jove's citadel. I shivered, and, speechless though I was, my pallid hue betrayed my feeling ; then the goddess herself removed the fears she had inspired. For she said, " O poet, minstrel of the Roman ²⁰ year, thou who hast dared to chronicle great things in slender couplets, thou hast won for thyself the right to look upon a celestial divinity by undertaking to celebrate the festivals in thy numbers. But lest thou should be ignorant and led astray by vulgar error, know that June takes its name from ²⁵ mine. It is something to have married Jupiter and to be Jupiter's sister. I doubt whether I am prouder of my brother or of my husband. If descent is considered, I was the first to call Saturn by the name of father : I was the first

3. loquantur *UDXM¹m* : loquentur *M²*.
 7. deorum *UXMm* : dearum *two* 5. 10. aquis *UXMm* : aqua *D*.
 14. cum *UDXM¹m* : dum *M²*. 20. tum *UXMm¹* : tunc *Dm²*.
 24. cum *UDXMm²* : dum *m¹C* : cui *Markland*.
 30. sors *UXMm* : fors *D* : pars *a few* 5.

- a patre dicta meo quondam Saturnia Roma est :
 haec illi a caelo proxima terra fuit.
 si torus in pretio est, dicor matrona Tonantis,
 iunctaque Tarpeio sunt mea templa Iovi.
 35 an potuit Maio paelex dare nomina mensi,
 hic honor in nobis invidiosus erit ?
 cur igitur regina vocor princepsque dearum ?
 aurea cur dextrae sceptrae dedere meae ?
 an facient mensem luces, Lucinaque ab illis
 40 dicar et a nullo nomina mense traham ?
 tum me paeniteat posuisse fideliter iras
 in genus Electrae Dardaniamque domum.
 causa duplex irae : rapto Ganymede dolebam,
 forma quoque Idaeo iudice victa mea est.
 45 paeniteat, quod non foveo Carthaginis arces,
 cum mea sint illo currus et arma loco :
 paeniteat Sparten Argosque measque Mycenae
 et veterem Latio supposuisse Samon :
 adde senem Tatium Iunonicolasque Faliscos,
 50 quos ego Romanis succubuisse tuli.
 sed neque paeniteat, nec gens mihi carior ulla est :
 hic colar, hic teneam cum Iove templa meo.
 ipse mihi Mavors ' commendo moenia ' dixit
 ' haec tibi. tu pollens urbe nepotis eris.'
 55 dicta fides sequitur : centum celebramur in aris,
 nec levior quovis est mihi mensis honor.
 nec tamen hunc nobis tantummodo praestat honorem
 Roma : suburbani dant mihi munus idem.
 inspice, quos habeat nemoralis Aricia fastos
 60 et populus Laurens Lanuviumque meum ;

31-32. These two lines are omitted in the Brussels manuscript (*X*) and in the Oxford manuscript (*m*). In *X* the passage which follows (verses 33-294) is displaced, being inserted immediately after verse 550 (p. 127 of the MS.). In *m* the same passage (verses 33-294) is also displaced, being inserted immediately after verse 410 (p. 93 col. a of the numbered photographs, p. 91 of my numbering). The coincidence of the displacement in *X* and *m* points to a relation between the manuscripts in question.

32. a caelo *UDM*¹ : expulso *M*².

cura (for terra) Bentley.

35. maio *UDMm*² : maior *Xm*¹.

39. facient *UDMm* : faciunt *X*.

mensem *UDMm*² : menses *Xm*¹.

43. irae *UXMm* : irac est *D*.

45. foveo *UXMm*¹BC and many *S* : foveam *Dm*²*S*.

child whom fate bestowed on him. Rome was once named Saturnia after my sire : this land was the next he came to after heaven. If the marriage-bed counts for much, I am called the consort of the Thunderer, and my temple is joined to that of Tarpeian Jupiter. If a leman could give 5 her name to the month of May, shall a like honour be grudged to me ? To what purpose, then, am I called Queen and chief of goddesses ? Why did they put a golden sceptre in my right hand ? Shall the days (*lucēs*) make up a month and I be called Lucina after them, and yet shall I take a 10 name from not a single month ? Then indeed might I repent of having loyally laid aside my anger at the offspring of Electra and the Dardanian-house. I had a double cause of anger : I fretted at the rape of Ganymede, and my beauty was misprized by the Idaean judge. It might repent me 15 that I cherish not the battlements of Carthage, since my chariot and arms are there. It might repent me that I have laid Sparta, and Argos, and my Mycenae, and ancient Samos, under the heel of Latium ; add to these old Tati- 20 us, and the Faliscans, who worship Juno, and whom I nevertheless suffered to succumb to the Romans. Yet let me not repent, for there is no people dearer to me : here may I be worshipped, here may I occupy the temple with my own Jupiter. Mavors himself hath said to me, ' I entrust these walls to thee. Thou shalt be mighty in the city of thy grand- 25 son.' His words have been fulfilled : I am celebrated at a hundred altars, and not the least of my honours is that of the month (named after me). Nevertheless it is not Rome alone that does me that honour : the inhabitants of neighbouring towns pay me the same compliment. Look 30 at the calendar of woodland Aricia, and the calendars of the Laurentine folk and of my own Lanuvium ; there,

48. supposuisse *UXMm* : subposuisse *D*.

50. succubuisse *UDX^mM^m* : supposuisse *m*¹.

52. color *UDm*¹ : color *XMm*¹. teneam *UDX^mm*¹ : tenco *Mm*¹.
meo *UDXM* : mea *m*.

55. celebratur *UDMm*¹ : celebratur *Xm*¹.

57. praestat *DMm*¹ : prestat *U* : praestet *m*¹ : prestat *X*.

60. lanuviumque *U¹m¹F⁵* : laviniumque *UDXMm*¹. meum
U¹DXMm : nemus *U*¹.

- est illic mensis Iunonius. inspicere Tibur
 et Praenestinae moenia sacra deae ;
 Iunonale leges tempus. nec Romulus illas
 condidit : at nostri Roma nepotis erat."
- 65 finierat Iuno. respeximus : Herculis uxor
 stabat, et in vultu signa vigoris erant.
 " non ego, si toto mater me cedere caelo
 iusserit, invita matre morabor " ait.
 " nunc quoque non luctor de nomine temporis huius :
- 70 blandior et partes paene rogantis ago
 remque mei iuris malim tenuisse precando ;
 et favcas causae forsitan ipse meae.
 aurca possedit socio Capitolia templo
 mater et, ut debet, cum Iove summa tenet.
- 75 at decus omne mihi contingit origine mensis :
 unicus est, de quo sollicitamur, honor.
 quid grave, si titulum mensis, Romane, dedisti
 Herculis uxori, posteritasque memor ?
 haec quoque terra aliquid debet mihi nomine magni
- 80 coniugis ; huc captas appulit ille boves,
 hic male defensus flammis et dote paterna
 Cacus Aventinam sanguine tinxit humum.
 ad propiora vocor. populum digessit ab annis
 Romulus, in partes distribuitque duas :
- 85 haec dare consilium, pugnare paratior illa est ;
 haec aetas bellum suadet, at illa gerit.
 sic statuit mensesque nota secrevit eadem :
 Iunius est iuvenum ; qui fuit ante, senum."
- 90 dixit. et in litem studio certaminis issent,
 atque ira pietas dissimulata foret :
 venit Apollinea longas Concordia lauro
 nexa comas, placidi numen opusque ducis.

61. inspicere *UDXm*¹ : aspice *Mm*².

62. deae *UDXM*¹*m*¹ : meae *M*²*m*².

64. at nostri *UDM* : a nostri *Xm*² : at nostris *m*¹. erat *UDXM*² :
 erit *m*¹.

66. vigoris *UDXM*¹*m*¹ : doloris *M*²*m*²*C*⁵ : dolentis *5*. *Hebe, the wife of Hercules, was the personification of youthful bloom ; hence the poet's description of her buxom looks. In her speech there are no signs of resentment (doloris) at Juno's claim to the month of June.*

67. non *DXM* : nunc *U*.

68. iusserit *UDXM*² : iusserat *m*¹. matre *DXM* : parte *U*.

too, there is a month of June. Look at Tibur and at the sacred walls of the Praenestine goddess: there shalt thou read of Juno's season. Yet Romulus did not found these towns; but Rome was the city of my grandson."

So Juno ended. I looked back. The wife of Hercules stood by, and in her face were signs of vigour. "If my mother were to bid me retire from heaven outright," quoth she, "I would not tarry against my mother's will. Now, too, I do not contend about the name of this season. I coax, and I act the part almost of a petitioner, and I should prefer to maintain my right by prayer alone. Thou thyself mayest haply favour my cause. My mother owns the golden Capitol, where she shares the temple, and, as is right, occupies the summit along with Jupiter. But all my glory comes from the naming of the month; the honour about which they tease me is the only one I enjoy. What harm was it if thou didst, O Roman, bestow the title of a month upon the wife of Hercules, and if posterity remembered and ratified the gift? This land also owes me something on account of my great husband. Hither he drove the captured kine: here Cacus, ill protected by the flames, his father's gift, dyed with his blood the soil of the Aventine. But I am called to nearer themes. Romulus divided and distributed the people into two parts according to their years. The one was readier to give counsel, the other to fight; the one age advised war, the other waged it. So he decreed, and he distinguished the months by the same token. June is the month of the young (*iuvenes*); the preceding is the month of the old."

So she spoke, and in the heat of rivalry the goddesses might have engaged in a dispute, wherein anger might have belied natural affection. But Concord came, at once the deity and the work of the pacific chief, her long tresses

72. favcas UDM^1m^1 : faveat XM^2m^2 . ipse $UDX^1M^1m^1$: ipsa $X^2M^2m^2$.
 73. socio UDX : sotio M^1m : posito M^2RS .
 74. summa UXm : suma M^2 : templa DM^1 .
 75. decus $UDXM^1m$: genus M^2 . For origine we should perhaps read nomine.
 80. appulit UXM^1m^2 : attulit DCS : abstullit m^1 .
 86. suadet at illa gerit Dm^1S : suadeat illa gerat UXM^1m^2S .
 88. est UDM^1m^1 : hic Xm^2 . 89. issent UD^2XM^1m : essent D^1 .
 92. numen $UDXM^1m$: nomen M^2 .

haec ubi narravit Tatium fortemque Quirinum
 binaque cum populis regna coisse suis
 95 et lare communi soceros generosque receptos,
 "his nomen iunctis Iunius" inquit "habet."
 dicta triplex causa est. at vos ignoscite, divae:
 res est arbitrio non dirimenda meo.
 ite pares a me. pericrunt iudice formae
 100 Pergama: plus laedunt, quam iuvat una, duae.

Prima dies tibi, Carna, datur. dea cardinis hacc est:
 numine clausa aperit, claudit aperta suo.
 unde datas habeat vires, obscurior aevo
 fama, sed e nostro carmine certus cris.
 105 adiacet antiquus Tiberino lucus Helerni:
 pontifices illuc nunc quoque sacra ferunt.
 inda sata est nymphe (Cranen dixere priores)
 nequiquam multis saepe petita procis.
 rura sequi iaculisque feras agitare solebat
 110 nodosasque cava tendere valle plagas.
 non habuit pharetram, Phoebi tamen esse sororem
 credebant; nec erat, Phoebe, pudenda tibi.
 huic aliquis iuvenum dixisset amantia verba,
 reddebat tales protinus illa sonos:
 115 "haec loca lucis habent nimis et cum luce pudoris:
 si secreta magis ducis in antra, sequor."
 credulus ante ut iit, frutices haec nacta resistit
 et latet et nullo est inveniendi modo.
 viderat hanc Ianus visaeque cupidine captus
 120 ad duram verbis mollibus usus erat.
 nympha iubet quacri de more remotius antrum
 utque comes sequitur destituitque ducem.

100. laedant *Bentley*. iuvat *UXMm*: iuuet *D*.

103. datas *UDXm*: ratas *Heinsius*. aevo *UDXm*: aevo est *M*.

105. antiquus *UDMm*(corrected): antiquo *X*: antiqui a few *S*. tiberino
UM: tyberino *m*¹: tiberini *D*: tyberini *m*²: tyberinus *X*. helerni *M*:
 elerni *DXmCS*: alerni *U*: averni three *S*.

106. illuc *UDMm*¹: illic *Xm*².

107. cranen *U*²: grannen *U*¹: granen *m*²: granem *M*: gramen *Xm*¹:
 ganien *Dm*²: cranaen *Merkel*.

108. nequiquam *UDX*: nequicquam *Mm*.

114. sonos *UDX²Mm*¹: suis *X²m*².

116. sequor *UXMmBC* and many *S*: sequar *D⁵*.

twined with Apollo's laurel. When she had told how Tatius and brave Quirinus, and their two kingdoms and peoples, had united in one, and how fathers-in-law and sons-in-law were received in a common home, "The month of June," quoth she, "gets its name from their junction." 5

Thus were three causes pleaded. But pardon me, ye goddesses; the matter is not one to be decided by my judgement. Depart from me all equal. Pergamum was ruined by him who adjudged the prize of beauty: two goddesses mar more than one can make. 10

KAL. IVN. 1st.

The first day is given to thee, Carna. She is the goddess of the hinge: by her divine power she opens what is closed, and closes what is open. Time has dimmed the tradition which sets forth how she acquired the powers she owns, but you shall learn it from my song. Near to the 15 Tiber lies an ancient grove of Helernus; the pontiffs still bring sacrifices thither. There a nymph was born (men of old named her Crane), often wooed in vain by many suitors. Her wont it was to scour the countryside and chase the wild beasts with her darts, and in the hollow vale to stretch the 20 knotty nets. No quiver had she, yet they thought that she was Phoebus' sister; and, Phoebus, thou needst not have been ashamed of her. If any youth spoke to her words of love, she straightway made him this answer: "In this place there is too much of light, and with the light too much of 25 shame; if thou wilt lead to a more retired cave, I'll follow." While he confidently went in front, she no sooner reached the bushes than she halted, and hid herself, and was nowise to be found. Janus had seen her, and the sight had roused his passion; to the hard-hearted nymph he used soft words. 30 The nymph as usual bade him seek a more sequestered cave, and she pretended to follow at his heels, but deserted her

117. ante ut iit *D*: ante iit *UX*: ante subit *M*: ante ivit *C* and two 5: antra subit two 5.

118. modo *UDXm*: loco *MB* and many 5.

122. utque *UDXMm*: atque *M*².

- stulta ! videt Ianus, quae post sua terga gerantur :
 nil agis, et latebras respicit ille tuas.
 125 nil agis, en ! dixi : nam te sub rupe latentem
 occupat amplexu speque potitus ait :
 " ius pro concubitu nostro tibi cardinis esto :
 hoc pretium positae virginitatis habet."
 sic fatus spinam, qua tristes pelleret posset
 130 a foribus noxas (haec erat alba), dedit.
 sunt avidae volucres, non quae Phineia mensis
 guttura fraudabant, sed genus inde trahunt :
 grande caput, stantes oculi, rostra apta rapinis,
 canitica pennis, unguibus hamus inest.
 135 nocte volant puerosque petunt nutricis egentes
 et vitiant cunis corpora rapta suis.
 carpere dicuntur lactentia viscera rostris
 et plenum poto sanguine guttur habent.
 est illis strigibus nomen ; sed nominis huius
 140 causa, quod horrendum stridere nocte solent.
 sive igitur nascuntur aves, seu carmine fiunt
 naeniaque in volucres Marsa figurat anus,
 in thalamos venere Procae. Proca natus in illis
 praeda recens avium quinque diebus erat,
 145 pectoraque exsorbent avidis infantia linguis ;
 at puer infelix vagit opemque petit.
 territa voce sui nutrix accurrit alumni
 et rigido sectas invenit ungue genas.
 quid faceret ? color oris erat, qui frondibus olim
 150 esse solet seris, quas nova laesit hiems.
 pervenit ad Cranen et rem docet. illa " timorem
 pone : tuus sospes " dixit " alumnus erit."
 venerat ad cunas : flebant materque paterque :
 " sistite vos lacrimas, ipsa medebor " ait.

123. stulta *UDXm* : cuncta *a few* *5*. gerantur *UDXm* : geruntur *M³* : feruntur *M¹*. 124. agis *UDM* : ait *X*.

125. dixi *Dm³* and *a few* *5* : dixit *UXM¹* and most *MSS*.

126. speque *U* and *two* *5* : teque *DXM⁵*.

129. spinam *UDM³m³* : virgam *X³M³m³* : noxam *m¹*.

132. fraudabant *UXM* : fraudebant *D* : foedeabant (faedeabant, fedebant) *a few* *5*. 133. rapinis *Um³* : rapinae *DXM¹*.

134. pennis *UDXm* : plumis *a few* *5*.

137. viscera *UDM¹m¹* : corpora *XM³m³*.

139. strigibus nomen *UDM* : nomen strigibus *X*.

leader. Fond fool! Janus sees what goes on behind his back; vain is thine effort; he sees thy hiding-place behind him. Vain is thine effort, lo! said I. For he caught thee in his embrace as thou didst lurk beneath a rock, and having worked his will he said: "In return for our dalliance be⁵ thine the control of hinges; take that for the price of thy lost maidenhood." So saying, he gave her a thorn—and white it was—wherewith she could repel all doleful harm from doors. There are greedy birds, not those that cheated Phineus' maw of its repast, though from those they are¹⁰ descended. Big is their head, goggle their eyes, their beaks are formed for rapine, their wings are blotched with grey, their claws fitted with hooks. They fly by night and attack nurseless children, and defile their bodies, snatched from their cradles. They are said to rend the flesh of sucklings¹⁵ with their beaks, and their throats are full of the blood which they have drunk. Screech-owl is their name, but the reason of the name is that they are wont to screech horribly by night. Whether, therefore, they are born birds, or are made such by enchantment and are nothing but²⁰ beldames transformed into fowls by a Marsian spell, they came into the chambers of Proca. In the chambers Proca, a child five days old, was a fresh prey for the birds. They sucked his infant breast with greedy tongues, and the poor child squalled and craved help. Alarmed by the cry of²⁵ her fosterling, the nurse ran to him and found his cheeks scored by their rigid claws. What was she to do? The colour of the child's face was like the common hue of late leaves nipped by an early frost. She went to Crane and told what had befallen. Crane said, "Lay fear aside; thy³⁰ nursling will be safe." She went to the cradle; mother and father were weeping. "Restrain your tears," she said,

140. horrendum *Vlitius*, *Bentley*: horrenda *UDXm*. nocte
UDXm: voce *Heinsius*.

142. marsa *Um*⁵: falsa *DXm*¹*B*.

143. thalamos *UDXm*: thalamis *M*.

145. exsorbent *Xm*³: exorbent *UDM*¹.

146. at *U*: et *XMm*: qui *D*.

147. accurrit *DXMm*: occurrit *U*.

150. laesit *UXM*¹*m*: lesit *D*: laedit *M*³.

151. grannen *U*: granen *Mm*³: gramen *Xm*¹: ganien *D*: cranaen
Merkel. See verse 107, with the note.

152. tuus *UDMm*¹: tuum *Xm*³. 153. flebant *UDMm*¹: stabant *Xm*³.

- 155 protinus arbutea postes ter in ordine tangit
fronde, ter arbutea limina fronde notat ;
spargit aquis aditus (et aquae medicamen habebant)
extaque de porca cruda bimenstre tenet ;
atque ita " noctis aves, extis puerilibus " inquit
160 " parcite : pro parvo victima parva cadit.
cor pro corde, precor, pro fibris sumite fibras.
hanc animam vobis pro meliore damus."
sic ubi libavit, prosecta sub aethere ponit,
quique adsint sacris, respicere illa vetat ;
165 virgaque Ianalis de spina ponitur alba,
qua lumen thalamis parva fenestra dabat.
post illud nec aves cunas violasse feruntur,
et rediit puero, qui fuit ante, color.
pinguia cur illis gustentur larda Kalendis,
170 mixtaque cum calido sit faba farre, rogas ?
prisca dea est aliturque cibus, quibus ante solebat,
nec petit ascitas luxuriosa dapes.
piscis adhuc illi populo sine fraude natabat,
ostreaque in conchis tuta fuere suis.
175 nec Latium norat, quam praebet Ionia dives,
nec quae Pygmaeo sanguine gaudet, avem ;
et praeter pennas nihil in pavone placebat,
nec tellus captas miserat ante feras.
sus erat in pretio, caesa sue festa colebant :
180 terra fabas tantum duraque farra dabat.
quae duo mixta simul sextis quicumque Kalendis
ederit, huic laedi viscera posse negant.
arce quoque in summa Iunoni templa Monetae
ex voto memorant facta, Camille, tuo :
185 ante domus Manli fuerat, qui Gallica quondam
a Capitolino reppulit arma Iove.

158. bimenstre *U³X* : bimestre *U¹Mm*.

163. aethere *UDXMm¹* : aethera *m³*.

164. adsint *m¹* : assint *Um³* : adsunt *M* : assunt *DX*. respicere
UDMm¹ : prospicere *Xm³*.

165. ponitur *B⁵* : sumitur *UDXMm* : subditur *Vlitius*.

169. gustentur *UDMm* : gestentur *X*.

173. illi populo *Um³* : illis populis *DXm¹* : illic populi *Mm³*.

175. quam *UDXMm* : quod *M³*. ionia *UDXM¹m* : aonia *M³*.

176. avem *U* : avis *DXMm*.

"I myself will heal the child." Straightway she thrice touched the doorposts, one after the other, with arbutus leaves; thrice with arbutus leaves she marked the threshold. She sprinkled the entrance with water (and the water was drugged), and she held the raw inwards of a sow just two months old. And thus she spoke: "Ye birds of night, spare the child's inwards: a small victim falls for a small child. Take, I pray ye, a heart for a heart, entrails for entrails. This life we give you for a better life." When she had thus sacrificed, she set the severed inwards in the open air, and forbade those present at the sacrifice to look back at them. A rod of Janus, taken from the white-thorn, was placed where a small window gave light to the chambers. After that, it is said that the birds did not violate the cradle, and the boy recovered his former colour.

You ask why fat bacon is eaten on these Calends, and why beans are mixed with hot spelt. She is a goddess of the olden time, and subsists upon the foods to which she was inured before; no voluptuary is she to run after foreign viands. Fish still swam unharmed by the people of that age, and oysters were safe in their shells. Latium knew not the fowl that rich Ionia supplies, nor the bird that delights in Pygmy blood; and in the peacock naught but the feathers pleased, nor had the earth before sent captured beasts. The pig was prized, people feasted on slaughtered swine: the ground yielded only beans and hard spelt. Whoever eats at the same time these two foods on the Calends of the sixth month, they affirm that nothing can hurt his bowels.

They say, too, that the temple of Juno Moneta was founded in fulfilment of thy vow, Camillus, on the summit of the citadel: formerly it had been the house of Manlius, who once protected Capitoline Jupiter against the Gallic

177. nihil *DXMm*^a: nichil *U*: nil *m*¹.

178. miserat *UDMm*: viderat *X*. ante *UDXMm*: arte one *S* (as a variant): *Afra Heinsius*. *Burman* conjectured *Nec Delus capos miserat*, ante *feros*. *Merkel* conjectured *Nec tellus coptas miserat Asteria*.

183. in *UDm*^a: ex *M*: e *m*¹: his *X*.

185. manli *DXm*: malli *UM*. fuerat *UD*: fuerant *XMm*. manli (malli) fuerat (fuerant) *UXMm*: fuerat manli *D*.

- quam bene, di magni, pugna cecidisset in illa,
 defensor solii, Iuppiter alte, tui l
 vixit, ut occideret damnatus crimine regni :
 190 hunc illi titulum longa senecta dabat.
 lux eadem Marti festa est, quem prospicit extra
 appositum Tectae porta Capena viae.
 te quoque, Tempestas, meritam delubra fatemur,
 cum paene est Corsis obruta classis aquis.
 195 haec hominum monumenta patent. si quaeritis astra,
 tunc oritur magni praepes adunca Iovis.

Postera lux Hyadas, Taurinae cornua frontis,
 evocat, et multa terra madescit aqua.

- Mane ubi bis fuerit Phoebusque iteraverit ortus
 200 factaque erit posito rore bis uda seges,
 hac sacrata die Tusco Bellona duello
 dicitur et Latio prospera semper adest
 Appius est auctor, Pyrrho qui pace negata
 multum animo vidit, lumine captus erat.
 205 prospicit a templo summum brevis arca Circum,
 est ibi non parvae parva columna notae :
 hinc solet hasta manu belli praenuntia mitti,
 in regem et gentes cum placet arma capi.

- Altera pars Circi Custode sub Hercule tuta est :
 210 quod deus Euhoico carmine munus habet.
 muneris est tempus, qui Nonas Lucifer ante est :
 si titulum quaeris, Sulla probavit opus.

188. defensor solii *UXMm*² : defensorque soli *Dm*² : defensorque sui *m*¹.

191. marti festa est *UXMm* : festa est marti *D*.

192. appositum *UDXM* : adpositum *m*. tectae *DXM²m¹* : rectae *M¹* : dextrae *Um*².

194. pene est corsis *UM* : poene est corsis *X* : est corsis pene *m* : pene chorsis *D*.

195. hominum monumenta patent *UXMm* : monumenta patent hominum *D*. quaeritis *U* : quaerimus *DXMm*.

196. praepes *m* : prepes *UDX* : praiceps *M*.

199. iteraverit *UM* : iteravit *D* : intraverit *Xm*.

204. multum *UDX²M¹m* : multam *X¹M²*.

205. templo *U* and a few *S* : tergo *DXMmBs*. circum *UDMm¹* : circi *Xm*² 206. ibi *UDMm¹* : ubi *Xm*².

210. quod *UDXm* : qui *M*. 211. qui *DXMm* : quo *U*.

212. titulum *U* and three *S* : titulos *DXMm*. Sulla *m*² : Sylla *UMm¹* : silla *D* : sullo *X*. probavit *UDM* : probabit *m* (probably = probavit :

arms. Great gods, how well had it been for him if in that fight he had fallen in defence of thy throne, O Jupiter on high ! He lived to perish, condemned on a charge of aiming at the crown : that was the title that length of years reserved for him.

The same day is a festival of Mars, whose temple, set Beside the Covered Way, is seen afar without the walls from the Capene Gate. Thou, too, O Storm, didst deserve a shrine, by our avowal, what time the fleet was nearly overwhelmed in Corsican waters. These monuments set up by 10 men are plain for all to see : if you look for stars, the bird of great Jupiter with its hooked talons then rises.

IV. NON. 2nd.

The next day calls up the Hyades, which form the horns of the Bull's forehead ; and the earth is soaked with heavy rain.

III. NON. 3rd.

When twice the morning shall have passed, and twice Phoebus shall have repeated his rising, and twice the crops shall have been wetted by the fallen dew, on that day Bellona is said to have been consecrated in the Tuscan war, and ever she comes gracious to Latium. Her founder was Appius, 20 who, when peace was refused to Pyrrhus, saw clearly in his mind, though from the light of day he was cut off. A small open space commands from the temple a view of the top of the Circus. There stands a little pillar of no little note. From it the custom is to hurl by hand a spear, war's harbinger, 25 when it has been resolved to take arms against a king and peoples.

PR. NON. 4th.

The other part of the Circus is protected by Guardian Hercules : the god holds office in virtue of the Euboean oracle. The time of his taking office was the day before the 30 Nones. If you ask about the inscription, it was Sulla who approved the work.

for in some MSS. of Ovid a B is occasionally substituted for a V, an indication that in the spoken tongue the distinction between the two sounds was becoming blurred)

Quaerebam, Nonas Sanco Fidione referrem,
 an tibi, Semo pater; tum mihi Sancus ait:
 215 "cuicumque ex istis dederis, ego munus habebo:
 nomina terna fero: sic voluere Cures."
 hunc igitur veteres donarunt aede Sabini
 inque Quirinali constituere iugo.

Est mihi (sitque, precor, nostris diuturnior annis)
 220 filia, qua felix sospite semper ero.
 hanc ego cum vellem genero dare, tempora taedis
 apta requirebam, quaeque cavenda forent:
 tum mihi post sacras monstratur Iunius Idus
 utilis et nuptis, utilis esse viris,
 225 primumque pars huius thalamis aliena reperta est;
 nam mihi sic coniunx sancta Dialis ait:
 "donec ab Iliaca placidus purgamina Vesta
 detulerit flavis in mare Thybris aquis,
 non mihi dentosa crinem depectere buxo,
 230 non unguis ferro subsecuisse licet,
 non tetigisse virum, quamvis Iovis ille sacerdos,
 quamvis perpetua sit mihi lege datus.
 tu quoque ne propera. melius tua filia nubet,
 ignea cum pura Vesta nitebit humo."

235 Tertia post Nonas remove Lycaona Phoebe
 fertur, et a tergo non habet Ursa metum.
 tunc ego me memini ludos in gramine Campi
 aspicere et dici, lubrice Thybri, tuos.
 festa dies illis, qui lina madentia ducunt,
 240 quique tegunt parvis aera recurva cibis.

213. sanco *U*: sco *DX*: sancto *Mm*. fidione *UDXm*: fidone *M*.

214. semo pater *Scaliger*: semipater *DXMm*: semicaper *U*. tum
UDX: cum *M*: tunc *m* sancus *U*: scs *DX*: sanctus *Mm*.

215. cuicumque *UDXm*: quicumque *m*¹. istis *U*: illis *DXMm*.

216. terna *UDXm*: trina *M*¹: tanta *M*².

217. hunc *UDMm*¹: hinc *Xm*².

218. iugo *UXMm*¹: loco *m*²: loco vel iugo *D*.

223. tum *UXMm*¹: tunc *Dm*². monstratur *D(f)M*: monstratus
Xm: monstrabat *U*.

226. nam mihi (michi) sic *UDM*: nam mihi si *m*: da mihi si *X*. ait
UDM: erit *X*.

228. detulerit flavis in mare tybris (tibir) aquis *UDMm*¹: deciderit flavas
 in mare tybris aquas *Xm*².

NON. 5th.

I inquired whether I should refer the Nones to Sancus, or to Fidius, or to thee, Father Semo; then Sancus said to me: "To whomsoever of them thou mayest give it, the honour will still be mine: I bear the three names: so willed the people of Cures." Accordingly the Sabines of old⁵ bestowed on him a shrine, and established it on the Quirinal hill.

VIII. ID. 6th.

I have a daughter, and I pray she may outlive me; I shall always be happy while she survives. When I would give her to a son-in-law, I inquired what times were suitable¹⁰ for weddings and what should be avoided. Then it was shown to me that June after the sacred Ides is good for brides and good for bridegrooms, but the first part of this month was found to be unsuitable for marriages; for the holy wife of the Flamen Dialis spoke thus to me: "Until the calm¹⁵ Tiber shall have carried down to the sea on its yellow current the filth from the temple of Ilian Vesta, it is not lawful for me to comb down my hair with a toothed comb, or cut my nails with iron, or touch my husband, though he is the priest of Jupiter, and though he was given to me for life. Thou,²⁰ too, be in no hurry; thy daughter will better wed when Vesta's fire shall shine on a clean floor."

VII. ID. 7th.

On the third morn after the Nones it is said that Phoebe chases away (the grandson of) Lycaon, and the Bear has none behind her to fear. Then I remember that I saw²⁵ games held on the sward of the Field of Mars, and that they were named thine, O smooth Tiber. The day is a festival for those who draw their dripping lines and hide their bronze hooks under little baits.

229. *dentosa Heinsius: detonso UDXMm. crinem UXMm: crines D. depectere UXMm: detexere D. buxo UDXM: busso m.*

233. *tu UDX (corrected) Mm³: tunc m¹.*

234. *Vesta nitebit humo Scaliger: veste nitebit humus UDMm: peste nitebit humus X.*

236. *habet ursae UDM: habitura X.*

Mens quoque numen habet. Mentis delubra videmus
 vota metu belli, perfide Poene, tui.
 Poene rebellaras, et leto consulis omnes
 attoniti Mauras pertinuere manus.
 245 spem metus expulerat, cum Menti vota senatus
 suscipit, et melior protinus illa venit.
 aspicit instantes mediis sex lucibus Idus
 illa dies, qua sunt vota soluta deae.

Vesta, fave! tibi nunc operata resolvimus ora,
 250 ad tua si nobis sacra venire licet.
 in prece totus eram: caelestia numina sensi,
 laetaque purpurea luce refulsit humus.
 non equidem vidi (valeant mendacia vatum)
 te, dea, nec fueras aspicienda viro;
 255 sed quae nescieram, quorumque errore tenebar,
 cognita sunt nullo praecipiente mihi.
 dena quater memorant habuisse Parilia Romam,
 cum flammae custos aede recepta dea est,
 regis opus placidi, quo non metuentius ullum
 260 numinis ingenium terra Sabina tulit.
 quae nunc aere vides, stipula tum tecta videres,
 et paries lento vimine textus erat.
 hic locus exiguus, qui sustinet atria Vestae,
 tunc erat intonsi regia magna Numae.
 265 forma tamen templi, quae nunc manet, ante fuisse
 dicitur, et formae causa probanda subest.
 Vesta eadem est et terra: subest vigil ignis utrique:
 significant sedem terra focusque suam.

241. numen *UDMm*¹: nomen *Xm*¹.

243. rebellaras *U*: rebellabas *DXMm*.

245. expulerat *U*: extulerat *Xm*¹*BC*⁵: abstulerat *DMm*¹.

246. venit *UDXm*¹: fuit *m*².

247. sex *DXMm*: ex *U* and three *S*.

249. operata *UX*¹*Mm*¹: operosa *X*³*m*²: optata *D*.

252. refulsit *UDMm*: resedit *X*.

256. nullo *UDMm*(corrected): nulla *XC*⁵.

257. dena quater *U*¹*Xm*¹: dona quater *D*: denique ter *U*¹. parilia

U: palilia *DXMm*. romam *UM*: nomen *Xm*¹: numen *Dm*¹.

259. placidi *UDMm*¹: placidum *Xm*¹.

260. numinis *UDMm*¹: nominis *Xm*¹.

261. vides *UDXm*: nitent *M*. tum *UX*: tunc *DMm*. videres

*Um*¹: videbant *Xm*¹: virebant *DMm*¹.

262. paries lento *UDMm*: lento paries *X*. textus *UDMm*¹: tectus

*Xm*¹.

VI. ID. 8th.

The mind also has its divinity. We see that a sanctuary was vowed to Mind during the terror of thy war, thou treacherous Carthaginian. Thou didst renew the war, thou Carthaginian, and, thunderstruck by the consul's death, all dreaded the Moorish bands. Fear had driven out hope, ⁵ when the Senate made vows to Mind, and straightway she came better disposed. The day on which the vows were paid to the goddess is separated from the coming Ides by six intermediate days.

V. ID. 9th.

O Vesta, grant me thy favour! In thy service now I ¹⁰ open my lips, if it is lawful for me to come to thy sacred rites. I was wrapt up in prayer; I felt the heavenly deity, and the glad ground gleamed with a purple light. Not indeed that I saw thee, O goddess (far from me be the lies of poets!), nor was it meet that a man should look upon thee; but ¹⁵ my ignorance was enlightened and my errors corrected without the help of an instructor. They say that Rome had forty times celebrated the Parilia when the goddess, Guardian of Fire, was received in her temple; it was the work of that peaceful king, than whom no man of more god-fearing ²⁰ temper was ever born in Sabine land. The buildings which now you see roofed with bronze you might then have seen roofed with thatch, and the walls were woven of tough osiers. This little spot, which now supports the Hall of Vesta, was then the great palace of unshorn Numa. Yet the shape of ²⁵ the temple, as it now exists, is said to have been its shape of old, and it is based on a sound reason. Vesta is the same as the Earth; under both of them is a perpetual fire; the earth and the hearth are symbols of the home. The earth

266. subest *UDXMM* : sua est *Heinsius*.

267. eadem est et *DXMM* : eademque et *U*.

268. significant sedem terra focusque suam *UDXMM* (except that *m* has *terraque* with the *que* crossed out) : significantque deam templa focusque suam *Peter*. One *MS.* has *aedem* for *sedem*. For *focusque* *Klussman* conjectured *tholusque*; for significant *Riese* suggested *assimilant*. The text is probably corrupt, but none of the proposed emendations is satisfactory. Should we read significant medium terra focusque locum?

- terra pilae similis nullo fulcimine nixa,
 270 aëre subiecto tam grave pendet onus.
 [ipsa volubilitas libratum sustinet orbem,
 quique premat partes, angulus omnis abest,
 cumque sit in media rerum regione locata
 et tangat nullum plusve minusve latus,
 275 ni convexa foret, parti vicinior esset,
 nec medium terram mundus haberet onus.
 arte Syracosia suspensus in aëre clauso
 stat globus, immensi parva figura poli,]
 et quantum a summis, tantum secessit ab imis
 280 terra ; quod ut fiat, forma rotunda facit.
 par facies templi : nullus procurrit in illo
 angulus ; a pluvio vindicat imbre tholus.
 cur sit virginibus, quaeris, dea culta ministris ?
 inveniam causas hac quoque parte suas.
 285 ex Ope Iunonem memorant Cereremque creatas
 semine Saturni, tertia Vesta fuit ;
 utraque nupserunt, ambae peperisse feruntur,
 de tribus impatiens restitit una viri.
 quid mirum, virgo si virgine laeta ministra
 290 admittit castas ad sua sacra manus ?
 nec tu aliud Vestam quam vivam intellege flammam,
 nataque de flamma corpora nulla vides.
 iure igitur virgo est, quae semina nulla remittit
 nec capit et comites virginitatis amat.
 295 esse diu stultus Vestae simulacra putavi,
 mox didici curvo nulla subesse tholo :
 ignis inextinctus templo celatur in illo,
 effigiem nullam Vesta nec ignis habet.
 stat vi terra sua : vi stando Vesta vocatur,
 300 causaque par Grai nominis esse potest.

271-276. *These six verses are wanting in four of my manuscripts (DXMm) without any sign of lacuna. They are found in U written in the scribe's ordinary hand and without any special mark attached to them. Hence, if the passage is an interpolation, it must be a fairly ancient one. The verses were omitted by Merkel in his first edition and bracketed by Gierig, Keighley and Paley. Bentley and Peter bracketed verses 271-278 as spurious, and I incline to agree with them.*

274. et U : ut J. P. Postgate (Classical Quarterly, iv. (1910) pp. 196-200).

275. conexa (for convexa) U and three S.

277. arte UDXMm : arce a few S. syracusia UXM : siracusia Dm.

279. secessit UDXM : discessit S.

is like a ball, resting on no prop ; so great a weight hangs on the air beneath it. Its own power of rotation keeps its orb balanced ; it has no angle which could press on any part ; and since it is placed in the middle of the world and touches no side more or less, if it were not convex, it would be nearer to some part than to another, and the universe would not have the earth as its central weight. There stands a globe hung by Syracusan art in closed air, a small image of the vast vault of heaven, and the earth is equally distant from the top and bottom. That is brought about by its round shape. The form of the temple is similar : there is no projecting angle in it ; a dome protects it from the showers of rain.

You ask why the goddess is tended by virgin ministers. Of that also I will discover the true causes. They say that Juno and Ceres were born of Ops by Saturn's seed ; the third daughter was Vesta. The other two married ; both are reported to have had offspring ; of the three one remained, who refused to submit to a husband. What wonder if a virgin delights in a virgin minister and allows only chaste hands to touch her sacred things ? Conceive of Vesta as naught but the living flame, and you see that no bodies are born of flame. Rightly, therefore, is she a virgin who neither gives nor takes seeds, and she loves companions in her virginity.

Long did I foolishly think that there were images of Vesta : afterwards I learned that there are none under her curved dome. An undying fire is hidden in that temple ; but there is no effigy of Vesta nor of the fire. The earth stands by its own power ; Vesta is so called from standing by power (*vi stando*) ; and the reason of her Greek name

280. forma *UDMm*¹ : terra *Xm*².

281. procurrit *UDXMm*³ : procumbit *m*¹.

282. vindicat *UXm* : vendicat *DM*.

283. virginibus *UDMm*³ : virgineis *Xm*¹.

288. impatiens *UXMm* : inpatiens *D*.

290. admittit *UDXMm*³ : admittat *M*². ad *U* : in *DXMm*.

291. vivam *UDXMm* : castam one *5* : meram one *5*. But vivam is supported by *Lactantius* (Divin. Instit. i. 12), who quotes verses 291-294 as in the text.

294. amat *DXMm*¹, *Lactantius* (Divin. Instit. i. 12) : habet *UM*⁵.

298. habet *UX*¹ : habent *DXMm*.

299. stat *UDMm* : stet *X*.

300. par *DMm*² : pars *UXm*¹.

- at focus a flammis et quod fovēt omnia, dictus ;
 qui tamen in primis aedibus ante fuit.
 hinc quoque vestibulum dici reor : inde precando
 praefamur Vestam, quae loca prima tenet.
 305 ante focos olim scamnis considerare longis
 mos erat et mensae credere adesse deos ;
 nunc quoque, cum fiunt antiquae sacra Vacunae,
 ante Vacunales stantque sedentque focos.
 venit in hos annos aliquid de more vetusto :
 310 fert missos Vestae pura patella cibos.
 ecce coronatis panis dependet asellis,
 et velant scabras florida sarta molas.
 sola prius furnis torrebant farra coloni
 (et Fornacali sunt sua sacra deae) :
 315 suppositum cineri panem focus ipse parabat,
 strataque erat tepido tegula quassa solo.
 inde focum observat pistor dominamque socorum,
 et quae pumiceas versat asella molas.
 praeteream referamne tuum, rubicunde Priape,
 320 dedecus ? est multi fabula parva ioci.
 turrigera frontem Cybele redimita corona
 convocat aeternos ad sua festa deos.
 convocat et satyros et, rustica numina, nymphas ;
 Silenus, quamvis nemo vocarat, adest.
 325 nec licet et longum est epulas narrare deorum :
 in multo nox est pervigilata mero.
 hi temere errabant in opacae vallibus Idae,
 pars iacet et molli gramine membra levat,
 hi ludunt, hos somnus habet, pars brachia nectit
 et viridem celeri ter pede pulsat humum.
 330 Vesta iacet placidamque capit segura quietem,
 sicut erat, positum caespite fulta caput.

303. inde precando *UX* : inque precando *m* : unde precamur *DM*.

304. praefamur Vestam *Heinsius* : quae famur vesta *UX* : quae famur vesta est *DMm* (corrected) : affamur *three S*.

305. scamnis considerare longis *UDM* : longis considerare scamnis *Xm*.

307. fiunt *UDXM³m* : fuerant *M¹*.

309. aliquid de more vetusto *U* : aliquo de more vetustas *DXMm*.

312. florida *UDXMm* : florea *three S*.

313. sola *UDXMm* : tota or solda *Madvig* (*Adversaria* ii. 107).

314. fornacali *UXMm³* : fornicali *Dm¹*.

316. solo *UXM³m* : foco *DM¹* and many *S*.

may be similar. But the hearth (*focus*) is so named from the flames, and because it fosters (*fovet*) all things; yet formerly it stood in the first room of the house. Hence, too, I am of opinion that the vestibule took its name; it is from there that in praying we begin by addressing Vesta, who occupies the first place. It used to be the custom of old to sit on long benches in front of the hearth and to suppose that the gods were present at table. Even now, when sacrifices are offered to ancient Vacuna, they stand and sit in front of her hearths. Something of olden custom has come down to our time: a clean platter contains the food offered to Vesta. Lo, loaves are hung on asses decked with wreaths, and flowery garlands veil the rough millstones. Husbandmen used formerly to toast only spelt in the ovens, and the goddess of ovens has her own sacred rites: the hearth of itself baked the bread that was put under the ashes, and a broken tile was laid on the warm floor. Hence the baker honours the hearth and the mistress of hearths and the she-ass that turns the millstones of pumice.

Shall I pass over or relate thy disgrace, rubicund Priapus? It is a short story, but a very merry one. Cybele, whose brow is crowned with a coronet of towers, invited the eternal gods to her feast. She invited also the satyrs and those rural divinities, the nymphs. Silenus came, though nobody had asked him. It is unlawful, and it would be tedious, to narrate the banquet of the gods: the livelong night was passed in deep potations. Some roamed at haphazard in the vales of shady Ida; some lay and stretched their limbs at ease on the soft grass; some played; some slept; some, arm linked in arm, thrice beat with rapid foot the verdant ground. Vesta lay and careless took her peaceful rest, just as she was, her head

317. *focus* *UDMm*¹: *locum Xm*². observat *U, Madvig* (*Adversaria*, ii. 107): *servat DXMm*.

318. *quae DXMm*: *quas UC*⁵. *If we adopt the reading quas, the meaning will be that the baker worshipped his millstones rather than the ass which turned them. And this may be right; see the Commentary* (vol. iv. p. 230). *pumiceas UMm*: *puniceas DX* and many *S*.

319. *praeteream XM*¹(?) : *praeterea UDM*²*m*.

320. *parva UDXm*: *plena MC*⁵.

321. *turrigera UD*: *turrigeram XMBC* and many *S*: *thurigeram m*.

327. *hi ADXMm*²: *hic m*¹: *di m*². *vallibus UXM*: *collibus Dm*.

331. *secura UXMm*: *secreta D*.

- at ruber hortorum custos nymphasque deasque
 captat et errantes fertque refertque pedes.
 335 aspicit et Vestam : dubium, nymphamne putarit
 an scierit Vestam, scisse sed ipse negat.
 spem capit obscenam furtimque accedere temptat
 et fert suspensos corde micante gradus.
 forte senex, quo vectus erat, Silenus asellum
 340 liquerat ad ripas lene sonantis aquae.
 ibat, ut inciperet, longi deus Hellesponti,
 intempestivo cum rudit ille sono.
 territa voce gravi surgit dea ; convolat omnis
 turba, per infestas effugit ille manus.
 345 Lampsacus hoc animal solita est mactare Priapo
 fata : " asini flammis indicis exta damus."
 quem tu, diva, memor de pane monilibus ornas ;
 cessat opus, vacuae conticuere molae.

- Nomine quam pretio celebratior arce Tcnantis,
 350 dicam, Pistoris quid velit ara Iovis.
 cincta premebantur trucibus Capitolia Gallis :
 fecerat obsidio iam diuturna famem.
 Iuppiter ad solium superis regale vocatis
 " incipe ! " ait Marti. protinus ille refert :
 355 " scilicet ignotum est, quae sit fortuna meorum,
 et dolor hic animi voce querentis eget.
 si tamen, ut referam breviter mala iuncta pudori,
 exigis : Alpino Roma sub hoste iacet.
 haec est, cui fuerat promissa potentia rerum,
 360 Iuppiter ? hanc terris impositurus eras ?
 iamque suburbanos Etruscaque contudit arma,
 spes erat in cursu : nunc lare pulsa suo est.

335. dubium *UDXm*¹ : dubium est *Mm*². putarit *UXMm* : putaret *D*.

336. scierit *UXMm*¹ : sciret *Dm*².

340. ripas *UDMm*¹ : ripam *Xm*².

341. inciperet *UDXm* : institerat *Madvig* (*Adversaria*, ii. 108).

343. convolat *U²DXMm* : convocat *U*¹.

345-346. *These two verses were condemned by Heinsius and bracketed by Merkel².*

346. fata *Madvig* (*Adversaria*, ii. 108) : apta *UDXM²m* : hinc *M*². *Th. Bergk* proposed domans for damus. *E. H. Alton* conjectured apta putat flammis indicis exta deus (*Classical Review*, xxxii. (1918) pp. 61 sq.).

low laid and propped upon a sod. But the ruddy guardian of gardens courted nymphs and goddesses, and to and fro he turned his roving steps. He spied Vesta too; it is doubtful whether he took her for a nymph or knew her to be Vesta; he himself said that he knew her not. He conceived a wanton hope, and tried to approach her furtively; he walked on tiptoe with throbbing heart. It chanced that old Silenus had left the ass, on which he rode, on the banks of a babbling brook. The god of the long Hellespont was going to begin, when the ass uttered an ill-timed bray. Frightened by the deep voice, the goddess started up; the whole troop flocked together; Priapus made his escape between hands that would have stopped him. Lampsacus is wont to sacrifice this animal to Priapus, saying: "We give to the flames the inwards of the tell-tale ass." That animal, goddess, thou dost adorn with necklaces of loaves in memory of the event: work comes to a stop: the mills are empty and silent.

I will explain the meaning of an altar of Baker Jupiter, which stands on the citadel of the Thunderer and is more famous for its name than for its value. The Capitol was surrounded and hard pressed by the fierce Gauls: the long siege had already caused a famine. Having summoned the celestial gods to his royal throne, Jupiter said to Mars, "Begin." Straightway Mars made answer: "Forsooth, nobody knows the plight of my people, and this my sorrow needs to find utterance in complaint. But if thou dost require me to declare in brief the sad and shameful tale: Rome lies at the foot of the Alpine foe. Is this that Rome, O Jupiter, to which was promised the domination of the world? is this that Rome which thou didst purpose to make the mistress of the earth? Already she had crushed her neighbours and the Etruscan hosts. Hope was in full career, but now she is driven from her own hearth and

349. pretio *UMm*: precio *X*: praecipio *D(?)*.

350. dicam *UXm³*: discant *DMm¹BC* and many *5*. pistoris
UXM¹m³: pistores *DM³m¹BC⁵*.

355. meorum *one MS. (Merkel's N)*: malorum *UDXMm*: locorum *three 5*: deorum *one 5*.

356. querentis *Mm*: quaerentis *UX*. 360. cras *UDMm¹*: erat *Xm³*.

361. contudit *DXM¹m*: concutit *M³*: condidit *U*.

- vidimus ornatos aerata per atria picta
 veste triumphales occubuisse senes :
 365 vidimus Iliacae transferri pignora Vestae
 sede : putant aliquos scilicet esse deos.
 at si respicerent, qua vos habitatis in arce,
 totque domos vestras obsidione premi,
 nil opis in cura scirent superesse deorum
 370 et data sollicita tura perire manu.
 atque utinam pugnae pateat locus ! arma capessant
 et, si non poterunt exsuperare, cadant.
 nunc inopes victus ignavaque fata timentes
 monte suo clausos barbara turba premit."
 375 tunc Venus et lituo pulcher trabeaque Quirinus
 Vestaque pro Latio multa locuta suo est.
 " publica " respondit " cura est pro moenibus istis,"
 Iuppiter " et poenas Gallia victa dabit.
 tu modo, quae desunt fruges, superesse putentur
 380 effice, nec sedes descre, Vesta, tuas.
 quodcumque est solidae Cereris, cava machina frangat,
 mollitamque manu duret in igne focus."
 iusserat, et fratris virgo Saturnia iussis
 annuit. et mediae tempora noctis erant,
 385 iam ducibus somnum dederat labor : increpat illos
 Iuppiter et sacro, quid velit, ore docet :
 " surgite et in medios de summis arcibus hostes
 mittite, quam minime tradere voltis, opem ! "
 somnus abit, quaeruntque novis ambagibus acti,
 390 tradere quam nolint et iubeantur opem.
 esse Ceres visa est : iaciunt Cerealia dona,
 iacta super galeas scutaque longa sonant.

363. aerata *UDXMM* : aurata *two S* : reserata *Heinsius* : cerata *Lipsius* : sacrata *Merke*².

365. vestae *UDXM²m* : gentis *M²*.

366. sede *U²m²* : caede *U¹M¹* : cede *D* : crede *X* : aede *M²*.

367. habitatis *UXM* : habitastis *Dm*.

369. opis *UDMm²* : opus *Xm¹*. cura *M* : curas *UDXm*.

372. poterunt *DXMm* : poterint *U*. cadant *DMm¹* : cadent *UXm²*.

373. fata *UDX²Mm²* : facta *X¹m¹*.

375. tunc *UDMm¹* : tum *Xm²*.

376. suo est *UDXMM* : suo (*without est*) *B and a few S*.

377. istis *UDX²Mm²* : urbis *M¹*.

379. putentur *ADXMM¹* : credantur *m²*.

381. solidae cereris *UDXM* : cereris solidae *m*.

home. We have seen old men decked in embroidered robes—the symbol of the triumphs they had won—cut down within their bronze-lined halls. We have seen the pledges of Ilian Vesta removed from their proper seat: plainly the Romans think that some gods exist. But if they were to look back to the citadel in which ye dwell, and to see so many of your homes beleaguered, they would know that the worship of the gods is of no avail, and that incense offered by an anxious hand is thrown away. And would that they could find a clear field of battle! Let them take arms, and, if they cannot conquer, then let them fall! As it is, starving and dreading a coward's death, they are shut up and pressed hard on their own hill by a barbarous mob." Then Venus and Quirinus, in the pomp of augur's staff and striped gown, and Vesta pleaded hard for their own Latium. Jupiter replied, "A general providence is charged with the defence of yonder walls. Gaul will be vanquished and will pay the penalty. Only do thou, Vesta, look to it that the corn which is lacking may be thought to abound, and do not abandon thy proper seat. Let all the grain that is yet unground be crushed in the hollow mill, let it be kneaded by hand and roasted by fire in the oven." So Jupiter commanded, and the virgin daughter of Saturn assented to her brother's command. It was the hour of midnight: now sleep had overcome the wearied leaders. Jupiter chode them, and with his sacred lips informed them of his will. "Arise and from the topmost battlements cast into the midst of the foe the last resource which ye would wish to yield." Sleep left them, and moved by the strange riddle they inquired what resource they were bidden to yield against their will. They thought it must be corn. They threw down the gifts of the Corn-goddess, which, in falling, clattered upon the helmets and long shields of the foe. The hope that the

382. in *UDMm*²: et *Xm*¹.

383. et *UDXMm*¹: at *m*².

384. annuit *UDXMm*: adnuit, *Riese, Peter, Ekwald-Levy*.

385. labor *UDXMm*: sopor *M*². illos *UDXMm*²: omnes *m*¹.

388. tradere *DXMm*: mittere *U*: perdere *three S*.

390. tradere *UDXMm*: perdere *Burman, Gierig, Merkel², Davies*.

391. esse *DXMm*¹: ecce *Um*². cerealia *UDXMm*: cerialia *Peter, Ekwald-Levy*.

posse fame vinci spes excidit. hoste repulso
candida Pistori ponitur ara Iovi.

- 395 Forte revertebar. festis Vestalibus illa,
qua Nova Romano nunc via iuncta foro est.
huc pede matronam vidi descendere nudo :
obstupui tacitus sustinuique gradum.
sensit anus vicina loci iussumque sedere
400 alloquitur quatiens voce tremante caput :
" hoc, ubi nunc fora sunt, udae tenere paludes ;
amne redundatis fossa madebat aquis.
Curtius ille lacus, siccus qui sustinet aras,
nunc solida est tellus, sed lacus ante fuit.
405 qua Velabra solent in Circum ducere pompas,
nil praeter salices cassaque canna fuit ;
saepae suburbanas rediens conviva per undas
cantat et ad nautas ebria verba iacit.
nondum conveniens diversis iste figuris
410 nomen ab averso ceperat amne deus.
hic quoque lucus erat iuncis et harundine densus
et pede velato non adunda palus.
stagna recesserunt et aquas sua ripa coercebat,
siccaeque nunc tellus : mos tamen ille manet."
415 reddiderat causam. " valeas, anus optima ! " dixi
" quod superest aevi, molle sit omne, tui."

- Cetera iam pridem didici puerilibus annis,
non tamen idcirco praeterea mihi.
moenia Dardanides nuper nova fecerat Ilus
420 (Ilus adhuc Asiae dives habebat opes) :

395. vestalibus *UDXm* : cerealibus *three* *5*. illa *UDXmGS* : illac *M*.

396. qua *UDXm* : quae *Madvig* (*Adversaria*, ii. 108). See the *Commentary* (vol. iv. p. 238).

397. vidi descendere nudo *U* : nudo descendere vidi *DXMm*.

398. obstupui *U^m* : obstupui *U²DXMm*.

399. loci *U* and *two* *5* : loco *DXMm*.

401. hoc *UXm* : haec (*P*) *D* : hic *M* and apparently most *MSS.* tenere *UDXm* : tremuere *F5*. If the reading tremuere were better supported, I should prefer to read hic . . . tremuere paludes, " Here, where now are the forums, were wet and quaking bogs." The expression hoc, ubi is inelegant Latin, and tenere is flat ; whereas tremuere is quite in Ovid's picturesque manner. With hic, ubi compare *Fausti*, i. 243, v. 93.

citadel could be reduced by famine now vanished : the enemy was repulsed and a white altar set up to Baker Jupiter.

It chanced that at the festival of Vesta I was returning by that way which now joins the New Way to the Roman Forum. Hither I saw a matron coming down barefoot : amazed I held my peace and halted. An old woman of the neighbourhood perceived me, and bidding me sit down she addressed me in quavering tones, shaking her head. " This ground, where now are the forums, was once occupied by wet swamps : a ditch was drenched with the water that overflowed from the river. That Lake of Curtius, which supports dry altars, is now solid ground, but formerly it was a lake. Where now the processions are wont to defile through the Velabrum to the Circus, there was naught but willows and hollow canes ; often the roysterer, returning home over the waters of the suburb, used to tip a stave and rap out tipsy words at passing sailors. Yonder god (Vertumnus), whose name is appropriate to various shapes, had not yet derived it from damming back the river (*averso amne*). Here, too, there was a grove overgrown with bulrushes and reeds, and a marsh not to be trodden with booted feet. The pools have receded, and the river confines its water within its banks, and the ground is now dry ; but the old custom survives." The old woman thus explained the custom. " Farewell, good old dame," said I ; " may what remains of life to thee be easy all ! "

The rest of the tale I had learned long since in my boyish years ; yet not on that account may I pass it over in silence. Ilus, descendant of Dardanus, had lately founded a new city (Ilus was still rich and possessed the wealth of Asia) ;

402. *amne UMM¹ : mone DXM¹m. redundatis DMM² : redundanti UXM¹.*

403. *curtius UXM¹m¹ : circius Dm². lacus UDMm² : locus Xm¹. sacras (for siccus) Schenkl.*

405. *qua UDXM¹m : quo M². solent UDMm¹ : sonant Xm².*

406. *cassaque Xm¹ (supported by Heinsius) : crassaque UDMm².*

410. *averso M : adverso UDXmBCFG and many 5.*

411. *harundine UDM : arundine XM.*

414. *mos UDMm¹ : mons Xm². ille UXMm¹ : ipse Dm² : inde one 5.*

418. *mili UXMm¹ : puto Dm².*

- creditur armiferae signum caeleste Minervae
 urbis in Iliacae desiluisse iuga.
 cura videre fuit, vidi templumque locumque :
 hoc superest illie, Pallada Roma tenet.
 425 consulitur Smintheus lucoque obscurus opaco
 hos non mentito reddidit ore sonos :
 " aetheriam servate deam, servabitis urbem :
 imperium secum transferet illa*loci."
 servat et inclusam summa tenet Ilus in arce,
 430 curaque ad heredem Laomedonta redit.
 sub Priamo servata parum : sic ipsa volebat,
 ex quo iudicio forma revicta sua est.
 seu genus Adrasti, seu furtis aptus Ulixes,
 seu pius Aeneas eripuisset eam,
 435 auctor in incerto, res est Romana : tuetur
 Vesta, quod assiduo lumine cuncta videt.
 heu quantum timuere patres, quo tempore Vesta
 arsit et est tectis obruta paene suis !
 flagrabant sancti sceleratis ignibus ignes,
 440 mixtaque erat flammae flamma profana piac.
 attonitae flebant demisso crine ministrae :
 abstulerat vires corporis ipse timor.
 provolat in medium, et magna " succurrite ! " voce
 " non est auxilium flere " Metellus ait.
 445 " pignora virgineis fatalia tollite palmis :
 non ea sunt voto, sed rapienda manu.
 me miserum ! dubitatis ? " ait. dubitare videbat
 et pavidas posito procubuisse genu.
 haurit aquas tollensque manus, " ignoscite," dixit
 450 " sacra ! vir intrabo non adeunda viro.

422. iuga *UDXM³m* : iugo *M¹*.

424. hoc *UDAM³m¹* : haec *Xm³* : hic *M¹*. illic *U³DXMm* : illi *U¹*
and two S.

425. smintheus *U³* : smyrneus *U¹* : cintheus *Dm³* : zintheus *X* : cynthus
M¹ : sinteus *M³* : cinctus *m¹* : zmitheus *m³*.

430. redit *U and three S* : venit *DXMm*.

431. ipsa *UDMm¹* : ipse *Xm³*. volebat *UXm³* : volebas *DMm¹*.

432. sua *US* : tua *DMm³* : suo *Xm¹*. *E. H. Alton would rewrite the
 verse thus* : forma quod idaeo iudice victa sua est (Classical Review, xxxii.
 (1918) p. 137).

433. genus *U³Dm³* : gener *U¹XMm¹*.

434. eripuisset eam *one S* (Merkel's 23) : eripuisse palam *one S* : eripuisse
 ferunt *UDXM³m and most MSS.* : eripuisse datur *M¹* : eripuerunt deam *Heinsius*.

a celestial image of armed Minerva is believed to have leaped down on the hills of the Ilian city. I was anxious to see it. I saw the temple and the place; that is all that is left there; the image of Pallas is in Rome. Smintheus was consulted and in the dim light of his shady grove he gave this answer 5 with no lying lips: "Preserve the heavenly goddess, so shall ye preserve the city. She will transfer with herself the seat of empire." Ilus preserved the image of the goddess and kept it shut up on the top of the citadel; the charge of it descended to his heir Laomedon. In Priam's reign the 10 image was not well preserved. Such was the goddess's own will ever since judgement was given against her in the contest of beauty. Whether it was the descendant of Adrastus, or the guileful Ulysses, or pious Aeneas who carried her off, the doer of the deed is uncertain; the thing 15 is now at Rome: Vesta guards it, because she sees all things by her light that never fails.

Alas, how alarmed the Senate was when the temple of Vesta caught fire, and the goddess was almost buried under her own roof! Holy fires blazed, fed by wicked fires, and a 20 profane flame was blent with a pious flame. Amazed the priestesses wept with streaming hair; fear had bereft them of bodily strength. Metellus rushed into their midst and in a loud voice cried, "Hasten ye to the rescue! There is no help in weeping. Take up in your virgin hands the pledges 25 given by fate; it is not by prayers but by deed that they can be saved. Woe's me, do ye hesitate?" said he. He saw that they hesitated and sank trembling on their knees. He took up water, and lifting up his hands, "Pardon me, ye sacred things," said he, "I, a man, will enter a place 30 where no man should set foot. If it is a crime, let the

E. H. Alton proposed to correct the line thus: seu rapit Aeneas (et rapuisse ferunt) (Classical Review, xxii (1918) p. 155).

435. in incerto *UDM*: in incerto est *XmBCS*. res est *UDM*: res et *Xm*. romana *UDXMM*: arcana *E. H. Alton* (Classical Review, xxxii. (1918) p. 155).

439. sancti *UDXMm*: facti *M*.

441. demisso *UDXm*: dimisso *M*.

444. auxilium *Um*: officium *DXMm*.

445. palmis *UDXm*: flammis *XmMBCG* and many *S*.

448. procubuisse *UDXMM*: succubuisse *m*.

449. haurit *DXMm*: aurit *U*. aquas *UDMm*: aquam *Xm*.

- si scelus est, in me commissi poena redundet :
 sit capitis damno Roma soluta mei."
 dixit et irrupit. factum dea rapta probavit
 pontificisque suū munere tuta fuit.
 455 nunc bene lucetis sacrae sub Caesare flammae :
 ignis in Iliacis nunc erit usque focus,
 nullaue dicetur vittas temerasse sacerdos
 hoc duce nec viva defodietur humo.
 sic incesta perit, quia quam violavit, in illam
 460 conditur, et Tellus Vestaque numen idem.

- Tum sibi Callaico Brutus cognomen ab hoste
 fecit et Hispanam sanguine tinxit humum.
 scilicet interdum miscentur tristia laetis,
 nec populum toto pectore festa iuvant :
 465 Crassus ad Euphraten aquilas natumque suosque
 perdidit et leto est ultimus ipse datus.
 " Parthe, quid exultas ? " dixit dea " signa remittes,
 quique necem Crassi vindicet, ultor erit."

- At simul auritis violae demuntur asellis,
 470 et Cereris fruges aspera saxa terunt,
 navita puppe sedens " Delphina videbimus," inquit
 " humida cum pulso nox erit orta die."

- Iam, Phryx, a nupta quereris, Tithone, relinqui,
 et vigil Eois Lucifer exit aquis :
 475 ite, bonae matres (vestrum Matralia festum)
 • flavaque Thebanae reddite liba dcae.
 pontibus et magno iuncta est celeberrima Circo
 area, quae posito de bove nomen habet :

453. irrupit *UDXMm*² : eripuit *m*¹⁵.
 456. usque *L. Müller, Riese* : estque *UDXMm* and apparently all other MSS.
 457. temerasse *UDXMm*¹ : temerare *S* : temerata *M*².
 458. viva defodietur *UDXMm* : vivae defodientur *Postgate*. See the
Commentary (vol. iv. p. 268).
 459. sic *UDMm*¹ : sin *Xm*¹. perit *UDXMm*² : parit *m*¹. illam
UDXm : illa *M*. 460. idem *UDXm* : idem est *M*.
 461. tum *UM* : tunc *DXm*. callaico *U*²*m*¹ : galliaco *U*¹*DM* :
 celiaco *X*. ab *UMm*¹ : in *DXm*².
 462. hispanam *U*²*XMm* : hispaniam *U*¹*D*.
 464. nec *UDMm*² : ne *Xm*¹. pectore *UDXMm*² : tempore *M*¹.
 iuvant *UDMm*² : iuvent *Xm*¹⁵.

punishment of the deed fall on me! May I pay with my head the penalty, so Rome go free!" With these words he burst in. The goddess whom he carried off approved the deed and was saved by the devotion of her pontiff.

Ye sacred flames, now ye shine bright under Caesar's rule; the fire will now be for ever on the Ilian hearths, and it will not be on record that under his leadership any priestess defiled her sacred fillets, and none shall be buried in the live ground. That is the doom of her who proves unchaste; because she is put away in the earth which she contaminated, since Earth and Vesta are one and the same deity.

Then did Brutus win his surname from the Gallaecan foe, and dyed the Spanish ground with blood. To be sure, sorrow is sometimes blent with joy, nor are festivals a source of unmingled gladness to the people: Crassus lost the eagles, his son, and his soldiers at the Euphrates, and perished last of all himself. "Why exult, thou Parthian?" said the goddess; "thou shalt send back the standards, and there will be an avenger who shall exact punishment for the slaughter of Crassus."

20

IV. ID. 10th.

But as soon as the long-eared asses are stripped of their violets, and the rough millstones grind the fruits of Ceres, the sailor, sitting at the poop, says, "We shall see the Dolphin, when the day is put to flight and dank night has mounted up."

25

III. ID. 11th.

Now, Phrygian Tithonus, thou dost complain that thou art abandoned by thy spouse, and the watchful Morning Star comes forth from the eastern waters. Go, good mothers (the Matralia is your festival), and offer to the Theban goddess the yellow cakes that are her due. Adjoining the bridges and the great Circus is an open space of far renown, which takes its name from the statue of an ox:

466. ipse *UDXM*¹*m*: ille *M*².467. remittes *UDXM*: remittis *m*.468. quique *UDXM*: quaque *m*.470. terunt *UXM*²*m*: terent *DM*²*BS*: trahent *M*².474. aquis *DXM*¹: equis *U*(*e in erasure*)*m*².478. bove *UDM*¹: iove *Xm*².

- hac ibi luce ferunt Matutae sacra parenti
 480 sceptraferas Servi templa dedisse manus.
 quae dea sit, quare famulas a limine templi
 arceat (arcet enim) libaque tosta petat,
 Bacche, racemiferos hedera redimite capillos,
 si domus illa tua est, dirige vatis opus.
 485 arserat obsequio Semele Iovis : accipit Ino
 te, puer, et summa sedula nutrit ope.
 intumuit Iuno, raptum quod paelice natum
 educet : at sanguis ille sororis erat.
 hinc agitur furiis Athamas et imagine falsa,
 490 tuque cadis patria, parve Learchae, manu.
 maesta Learchae mater tumulaverat umbras
 et dederat miseris omnia iusta rogis.
 haec quoque, funestos ut erat laniata capillos,
 prosilit et cunis te, Melicerta, rapit.
 * 495 est spatio contracta brevi, freta bina repellit
 unaque pulsatur terra duabus aquis :
 huc venit insanis natum complexa lacertis
 et secum e celso mittit in alta iugo.
 excipit illaesos Panope centumque sorores,
 500 et placido lapsu per sua regna ferunt.
 nondum Leucothea, nondum puer ille Palaemon
 verticibus densi Thybridis ora tenent.
 lucus erat ; dubium Semelae Stimulaene vocetur :
 Maenadas Ausonias incoluisse ferunt.
 505 quaerit ab his Ino, quae gens foret : Arcadas esse
 audit et Evandrum sceptrum tenere loci.

479. ibi *UDm*^a : ubi *Mm*¹ : in *X*. matutae *U* : mutatae *DMm*^a*C*
 and many *S* : matura *Xm*¹.

482. petat *Xm*^a : petit *UDMm*¹ (corrected).

483. redimite *UDMm*^a : distincte *Xm*¹.

484. dirige *UDXm*^a : derige *Ehwald-Livy*.

487. raptum *Mm*^a*C* and many *S* : rapta *UXM*¹*m*¹ : natum quod pelice
 raptum *D* : partum quod pellice natum *Heinsius*.

488. at *UDXM*^a : et *M*¹.

489. agitur *UDMm*^a : igitur *U¹Xm*¹, *Lactantius Placidus on Statius*,
Theb. vii. 150 (corrected by *Jahnke*). et *UXm*¹ : sed *DMm*^a : in imagine
 falsus *Lactantius Placidus* l.c. (corrected by *Jahnke*).

495. est *UDXMm*^a : et two *S*, *Lactantius Placidus on Statius*, *Theb.* vi. 103 :
 qua *Riese*. contracta *UDXMm*^a*m* : contenta *M*¹.

498. secum e celso *DMm*^a : secum celso *UXm*¹.

499. illaesos *m* : illesos *DX*^a : illaesium *M* : illesum *U* : illaesium *BS*.

there, on this day, it is said, Servius consecrated with his own sceptred hands a temple to Mother Matuta. Who the goddess is, why she excludes (for exclude she does) female slaves from the threshold of her temple, and why she calls for toasted cakes, do thou, O Bacchus, whose locks are twined with clustered grapes and ivy, (explain and) guide the poet's course, if the house of the goddess is also thine. Through the compliance of Jupiter with her request Semele was consumed with fire: Ino received thee, young Bacchus, and zealously nursed thee with the utmost care. 10 Juno swelled with rage that Ino should rear the son who had been snatched from his leman mother; but that son was of the blood of Ino's sister. Hence Athamas was haunted by the furies and by a delusive vision, and, little Learchus, thou didst fall by thy father's hand. His sorrow- 15 ful mother committed the shade of Learchus to the tomb and paid all the honours due to the mournful pyre. She, too, after tearing her rueful hair, leaped forth and snatched thee, Melicertes, from thy cradle. A land there is, shrunk with narrow limits, which repels twin seas, and, single in 20 itself, is lashed by twofold waters. Thither came Ino, clasping her son in her frenzied embrace, and hurled herself and him from a high ridge into the deep. Panope and her hundred sisters received them scatheless, and smoothly gliding bore them through their realms. They reached the 25 mouth of thick-eddyding Tiber before Ino had yet received the name of Leucothea and before her boy was called Palaemon. There was a sacred grove; it is doubtful whether it should be called the grove of Semele or the grove of Stimula: they say that it was inhabited by Ausonian 30 Maenads. Ino inquired of them what was their nation; she learned that they were Arcadians and that Evander was

501. leucothea *UX*: leucothea *Dm*³: leucothoe *Mm*¹. puer ille *UDMm*³: puerile *Xm*¹.

502. densi *Heinsius*: densis *UDXMm*. tenent *UDMm*³: sonant *Xm*¹.

503. dubium *UDXm*: dubium est *M*. semele stimulene *UDXm*: semeles simulesne *M*. vocetur *UDMm*¹: vocatur *Xm*³.

504. ausonias *UXMm*¹: ausonidas *Dm*³.

505. ino *Dm*(corrected): una *Xm*³: unam *U*: iuno *MB*⁵.

- dissimulata deam Latias Saturnia Bacchas
 instimulat fictis insidiosa sonis :
 " o nimium faciles, o toto pectore captae !
 510 non venit haec nostris hospes amica choris.
 fraude petit sacrique parat cognoscere ritum ;
 quo possit poenas pendere, pignus habet."
 vix bene desierat, complent ululatibus auras
 Thyades effusis per sua colla comis,
 515 iniciuntque manus puerumque revellere pugnant.
 quos ignorat adhuc, invocatur illa deos :
 " dique virique loci, miserae succurrite matri ! "
 clamor Aventini saxa propinqua ferit.
 appulerat ripae vaccae Oetaeus Hiberas :
 520 audit et ad vocem concitus urget iter.
 Herculis adventu, quae vim modo ferre parabant,
 turpia femineae terga dedere fugae.
 " quid petis hinc " (cognorat enim) " matertera Bacchi ?
 an numen, quod me, te quoque vexat ? " ait.
 525 illa docet partim, partim praesentia nati
 continet, et furiis in scelus isse pudet.
 rumor, ut est velox, agitat pervolat alis,
 estque frequens, Ino, nomen in ore tuum.
 hospita Carmentis fidos intrasse penates
 530 diceris et longam deposuisse famem ;
 • liba sua properata manu Tegeaea sacerdos
 traditur in subito cocta dedisse foco.
 nunc quoque liba iuvant festis Matralibus illam :
 rustica sedulitas gratior arte fuit.
 535 " nunc," ait " o vates, venientia fata resigna,
 qua licet. hospitibus hoc, precor, adde meis."

508. instimulat *UDXM^am* : insimulat *M¹*. fictis *UDM^am* : factis *Xm¹*. insidiosa *UDXM^am* : invidiosa *BC⁵*.

509. toto *UDXM^am* : caeco *M^a*. pectore *UDM^am* : corpore *Xm¹*.

510. nostris *UDXM^am* : vestris *M¹5*.

512. pendere *UDXM^am* : solvere *M¹*. pignus *DXM^am* : pinguis *U*.

514. thyades *Um* : thiades *DXM*. effusis *UDXm* : infusis *M*. per *U* : in *DXM^am*.

515. iniciuntque *UDM^am* : initiuntque *X*. revellere *UXm^a* : avellere *DM¹*. pugnant *UDM^am* : temptant (tentant) *Xm¹BC⁵*.

517. virique *UDXM^am* : deaeque *m¹* (preferred by Heinsius, perhaps rightly).

518. saxa *UDM^am* : sacra *Xm¹*.

519. oetaeus *m* (in erasure) : oeteus *U* : oetheus *M* : etheus *D* : retheus *X*. hiberas *UDXm^a* : iberas *M^am*.

king of the place. Dissembling her godhead, the daughter of Saturn slyly incited the Latian Bacchanals by glozing words: "Too easy souls! O blinded hearts! This stranger comes no friend to our assemblies. Her aim is treacherous, she would learn our sacred rites. Yet she has a pledge by 5 which we can ensure her punishment." Scarce had she ended, when the Thyads, with their locks streaming down their necks, filled the air with their howls, and laid hands on Ino, and strove to pluck the boy from her. She invoked the gods whom still she knew not: "Ye gods and men of 10 the land, succour a wretched mother!" The cry reached the neighbouring rocks of the Aventine. The Oetaean hero had driven the Iberian kine to the river bank; he heard and hurried at full speed towards the voice. At the approach of Hercules the women, who but a moment before had 15 been ready to use violence, turned their backs shamefully in womanish flight. "What would'st thou here, O sister of Bacchus' mother?" quoth Hercules, for he recognized her; "doth the same deity who harasses me harass thee also?" She told him her story in part, but part the presence 20 of her son induced her to suppress; for she was ashamed to have been goaded into crime by the furies. Rumour—for she is fleet—flew far on pulsing wings, and thy name, Ino, was on many lips. It is said that as a guest thou didst enter the home of loyal Carmentis and there didst stay thy 25 long hunger. The Tegean priestess is reported to have made cakes in haste with her own hand and to have quickly baked them on the hearth. Even to this day she loves cakes at the festival of the Matralia. Rustic civility was dearer to her than the refinements of art. "Now," said 30 Ino, "reveal to me, O prophetess, my future fate, so far as it is lawful; I pray thee, add this favour to the hospitality

524. an numen *UDMm*³: at numen *m*¹: at lumen *Xm*³.

525. docet *UXm*³: dolet *DMm*¹*BC*⁵. partim partim *UDMm*¹(*p*): partem partim *Xm*³.

526. continet *UXMm*: et timet *D*. esse *U*(corrected ?)*DM*: esse some *S*.

528. ino nomen *UXm*¹: nomen semper *DMm*³. ore *UDXM*¹*m*: orbe *M*³.

531. tegaea *M*: tegca *UDXm*.

532. in *UXm*¹: et *DMm*³.

533. illam *UM*³*m*¹*S*⁵: illa *DXM*¹*m*³*S*⁵.

534. arte *U³DXM*¹*m*: ante *U³M*³.

536. hoc *UXM*¹*m*: haec *M*³. meis *UDXMm*: tuis *thres* *S*.

- parva mora est, caelum vates ac numina sumit
 fitque sui toto pectore plena dei ;
 vix illam subito posses cognoscere, tanto
 540 sanctior et tanto, quam modo, maior erat.
 " laeta canam. gaude, defuncta laboribus Ino,"
 dixit " et huic populo prospera semper ades.
 numen eris pelagi, natum quoque pontus habebit.
 in vestris aliud sumite nomen aquis :
 545 Leucothea Graia, Matuta vocabere nostris ;
 in portus nato ius erit omne tuo,
 quem nos Fortunum, sua lingua Palaemona dicet.
 ite, precor, nostris acquus uterque locis ! "
 annuerat, promissa fides. posuere labores,
 550 nomina mutarunt : hic deus, illa dea est.
 cur vetet ancillas accedere, quaeritis ? odit,
 principiumque odii, si sinat illa, canam.
 una ministrarum solita est, Cadmei, tuarum
 saepe sub amplexus coniugis ire tui.
 555 improbus hanc Athamas furtim dilexit ; ab illa
 comperit agricolis semina tosta dari.
 ipsa quidem fecisse negat, sed fama recepit.
 hoc est, cur odio sit sibi serva manus.
 non tamen hanc pro stirpe sua pia mater adoret :
 560 ipsa parum felix visa fuisse parens.
 alterius prolem melius mandabitis illi :
 utilior Baccho quam fuit ipsa suis.
 hanc tibi, " quo properas ? " memorant dixisse, Rutili,
 " luce mea Marso consul ab hoste cades."
 565 exitus accessit verbis, flumenque Toleni
 purpureum mixtis sanguine fluxit aquis.

537. ac *DXMm* : ad *U*¹ : et *U*². 539. posses *UDMm*² : possis *Xm*¹.

541. laboribus *UDMm* : sororibus *X*.

543. eris *DXMm* : ades *U*.

544. vestris *UDXm* : nostris *MBF*⁵.

545. leucothea *UXm*² : leucothea *D* : leucothoe *Mm*¹*C*⁵. matuta *UXMm*² : mutata *D* (or mutata ?) *m*¹.

549. annuerat *UDXm*² : annumerat *X*¹*m*² : annuerant *M*.

551. vetet *UXm* : vetat *DM*.

552. sinat *UXM*¹*m*¹ : sinit *DM*²*m*². illa *UDM* : ipsa *Xm*.

553. cadmei *m*¹ (according to Heinsius : in my photograph the reading is cadmea, but the last two letters are blurred and have apparently been rewritten by a later hand ; the a is quite different from the scribe's ordinary a) : cadmea *UX*¹ : cadmaea *M* : calidona *X*² : cathinca *D*.

555. furtim *UMm* : furto *D* : furtim (or furto) omitted in *X*.

I have already received." A brief pause ensued, and then the prophetess assumed her heavenly powers, and all her bosom swelled with majesty divine. Of a sudden you could hardly know her again; so holier, so taller far was she than she had been but now. "Glad tidings I will sing: rejoice, 5 Ino, thy labours are over," said she. "O come propitious to this people evermore! Thou shalt be a divinity of the sea: thy son, too, shall have his home in ocean. Take ye both different names in your own waters. Thou shalt be called Leucothea by the Greeks and Matuta by our people: 10 thy son will have all authority over harbours; he whom we name Portunus will be named Palaemon in his own tongue. Go, I pray ye, be friendly, both of ye, to our country!" Ino bowed assent, she gave her promise. Their troubles ceased: they changed their names: he is a god and she a 15 goddess.

You ask why she forbids female slaves to approach her? She hates them, and the source of her hatred, with her leave, I will tell in verse. One of thy handmaids, daughter of Cadmus, used often to submit to the embraces of thy husband. 20 The caitiff Athamas loved her secretly, and from her he learned that his wife gave toasted seed-corn to the husbandmen. She herself, indeed, denied it, but rumour affirmed it. That is why she hates the service of a woman slave. Nevertheless let not an affectionate mother pray to her on 25 behalf of her own offspring: she herself proved to be no lucky parent. You will do better to commend to her care the progeny of another; she was more serviceable to Bacchus than to her own children. They relate that she said to thee, Rutilius, "Whither dost thou hasten? On my day in thy 30 consulship thou shalt fall by the hand of a Marsian foe." Her words were fulfilled, and the stream of the Tolenus flowed purple, its water mingled with blood. When the

557. negat *UDMm*¹: nefas *Xm*²: negas *Madvig* (*Adversaria*, ii. 109).

558. sibi *U* and two *S*, *Bentley*: tibi *DXMm*.

562. ipsa *Burman* and modern editors: illa *UDXMm* ("plerique meliores," *Heinsius*). *I do not know what the MS. authority for ipsa is, but the sense seems almost to require it.*

563. quo properas *U²DXMm*: proposito *U*¹: praeposito *S*.

565. flumenque *UDMm*: lumenque *X*. tholeni *UDXM*: tholeni *M*²: tholoni *M*¹: tolenum *C* and two *S*.

566. purpureum *UDXMm*¹: purpureo *m*².

proximus annus erat : Pallantide caesus eadem
Didius hostiles ingeminavit opes.

- Lux eadem, Fortuna, tua est auctorque locusque ;
570 sed superiniectis quis latet iste togis ?
Servius est, hoc constat enim, sed causa latendi
discrepat et dubium me quoque mentis habet.
dum dea furtivos timide profitetur amores,
caelestemque homini concubuisse pudet
575 (arsit enim magno correpta cupidine regis
caecaque in hoc uno non fuit illa viro),
nocte domum parva solita est intrare fenestra ;
unde Fenestellae nomina porta tenet.
nunc pudet, et voltus velamine celat amatos,
580 oraque sunt multa regia tecta toga.
an magis est verum post Tulli funera plebem
confusam placidi morte fuisse ducis,
nec modus ullus erat, crescebat imagine luctus,
donec eum positus occuluere togis ?
585 tertia causa mihi spatio maiore canenda est,
nos tamen adductos intus agemus equos.
Tullia coniugio sceleris mercede parato
his solita est dictis extimulare virum :
“ quid iuvat esse pares, te nostrae caede sororis
590 meque tui fratris, si pia vita placet ?
vivere debuerant et vir meus et tua coniunx,
si nullum ausuri maius eramus opus.
et caput et regnum facio dotale parentis :
si vir es, i, dictas exige dotis opes.

567. caesus *XMm* : cesus *D* : cretus *US* : victus *a few S*.

568. didius *UDXMm*. For Didius the inferior MSS. offer a liberal choice between Vidius, Dindius, Dillius, Dubius, Lidimus, Edimus, and Tullius. hostiles *UDM* : hostilis *X*. opes *UDXM*¹ : aquas *M*².

570. sed *UDXM*¹*m* : et *M*².

571. hoc constat enim *Xm* : et constat enim *U¹DMBCG⁵* : iam constat enim *U*¹ : etenim constat *a few S* : res constat enim *Riese* : id constat enim *Schenkl*.

575. magno *UDXMm*¹ : magna *m*²*S*. regis *UDX¹Mm*¹ : regni *X²m*².

577. domum *UXMm* : demum *D*.

578. fenestellae *DXm*² : fenestelle *U* : fenestella *m*¹ : fenestrellae *M*² : fenestralis *M*²*S*.

582. ducis *UDXMm* : senis *Merke², Riese, Peter, Davies, Ehwald-Levy*

next year was come, Didius, slain on the same day, doubled the forces of the foe.

The same day, Fortune, is thine, and the same founder, and the same place. But who is yonder figure that is hidden in robes thrown one upon the other? It is Servius: so much is certain, but different causes are assigned for his concealment, and my mind, too, is haunted by a doubt. While the goddess timidly confessed her furtive love, and blushed to think that as a celestial being she should mate with a mere man (for she burned with a deep, an over-¹⁰ mastering passion for the king, and he was the only man for whom she was not blind), she was wont to enter his house by a small window (*fenestra*); hence the gate bears the name of Fenestella ("the Little Window"). To this day she is ashamed and hides the loved features beneath a veil, and ¹⁵ the king's face is covered by many a robe. Or is the truth rather that after the murder of Tullius the common folk were bewildered by the death of the gentle chief, there were no bounds to their grief, and their sorrow increased with the sight of his statue, until they hid him by putting ²⁰ robes on him?

A third reason must be expounded in my verse at greater length, though I will rein in my steeds. Having purchased her marriage at the price of crime, Tullia used to incite her husband by these words: "What boots it that we are well ²⁵ matched, thou by my sister's murder, and I by thy brother's, if we are content to lead a life of virtue? Better that my husband and thy wife had lived, if we do not dare attempt some greater enterprise. I offer as my dower the head and kingdom of my father: if thou art a man, go to, exact ³⁰

(without citing any MS.: no such variant is noticed by Heinsius, Burman, and Merkel in his critical edition of 1841).

584. eum *UDM²m¹*: eam *XM¹m¹*. togis *UDMm*: thoris *X*.

586. agemus *UXMm*: agendus *D*.

587. parato *UDM²m¹*: peracto *XM²m¹* (preferred by Heinsius).

588. extimulare *UM*: exstimulare *Dm¹*: extimulasse *X*: extimulasse *m¹*.

590. vita placet *UDXM¹m¹*: vota placent *M¹m¹*: iura placent *two S*.

593. facio *DXm*: facito *U*: factum est *M¹BS*: facias *M²*.

594. i dictas *one S* (Merkel's 14) Heinsius: indictas *UDXMm* and almost all other MSs.

- 595 regia res scelus est. socero cape regna necato,
 et nostras patrio sanguine tingue manus."
 talibus instinctus solio privatus in alto
 sederat : attonitum volgus ad arma ruit.
 hinc cruor et caedes, infirmaque vincitur aetas :
 600 sceptrum gener socero rapta Superbus habet.
 ipse sub Esquilis, ubi erat sua regia, caesus
 concidit in dura sanguinolentus humo.
 filia carpento patrios initura penates
 ibat per medias alta feroxque vias.
 605 corpus ut aspexit, lacrimis auriga profusus
 restitit. hunc tali corripit illa sono :
 " vadis, an expectas pretium pietatis amarum ?
 duc, inquam, invitas ipsa per ora rotas."
 certa fides facti : dictus Sceleratus ab illa
 610 vicus, et aeterna res ea pressa nota.
 post tamen hoc ausa est templum, monumenta parentis,
 tangere : mira quidem, sed tamen acta loquar.
 signum erat in solio residens sub imagine Tulli ;
 dicitur hoc oculis opposuisse manum,
 615 et vox audita est " voltus abscondite nostros,
 ne natae videant ora nefanda meae."
 veste data tegitur, vetat hanc Fortuna moveri
 et sic e templo est ipsa locuta suo :
 " ore revelato qua primum luce patebit
 620 Servius, haec positi prima pudoris erit."
 parcite, matronae, vetitas attingere vestes :
 sollemni satis est voce movere preces,
 sitque caput semper Romano tectus amictu,
 qui rex in nostra septimus urbe fuit.

595. res *UDXM* : spes *m*.596. tingue *UDX* : tinge *Mm*.598. in *UXM¹m²* : ad *DM²m¹* (but the line is rewritten in a different hand).599. et *UDXMm* : hinc *BC* and a few *S*.601. ipse *UDMm¹* : ipsa *Xm²*. ubi erat *U²DMm* : suberat *U¹X*.602. dura . . . humo *UDXM¹m* : duram . . . humum *M²*.607. expectas *UDMm* : exspectas *X*.609. facti *UXm¹* : facti est *DMm²*.610. aeterna *UDXM¹m¹* : externa *M²m²*. nota *U* (followed by an erasure, in which Laing detected a lurking est) *Xm¹* : nota est *DMm²CFG⁵*.611. hoc *UXm* : haec *M* : omitted in *D*.612. loquar *UDM¹* : loquor *XM²m*.

the promised dower. Crime is a thing for kings. Kill thy wife's father and seize the kingdom, and dye our hands in my sire's blood." Instigated by such words, he, private man though he was, took his seat upon the lofty throne; the mob, astounded, rushed to arms. Hence blood and slaughter, and the weak old man was overpowered: his son-in-law (Tarquin) the Proud snatched the sceptre from his father-in-law. Servius himself, at the foot of the Esquiline hill, where was his palace, fell murdered and bleeding on the hard ground. Driving in a coach to her father's home, his daughter passed along the middle of the streets, erect and haughty. When he saw her father's corpse, the driver burst into tears and drew up. She chode him in these terms: "Wilt thou go on, or dost thou wait to reap the bitter fruit of this thy loyalty? Drive, I say, the reluctant wheels across his very face!" A sure proof of the deed is the name of the street called Wicked after her; the event is branded with eternal infamy. Yet after that she dared to touch the temple, her father's monument: strange but true the tale I'll tell. There was a statue seated on a throne in the likeness of Tullius: it is said to have put its hand to its eyes, and a voice was heard, "Hide my face, lest it should see the execrable visage of my own daughter." The statue was covered by a robe lent for the purpose: Fortune forbade the garment to be moved, and thus she spoke from her own temple: "That day on which the statue of Servius shall be laid bare by unmuffling his face will be the first day of modesty cast to the winds." Ye matrons, refrain from touching the forbidden garments; enough it is to utter prayers in solemn tones. Let him who was the seventh king in our city always keep his head covered with Roman

614. hoc *UMm*¹: hæc *DXm*². opposuisse *UXMm*: obposuisse *D*.
manum *UDXMm*: manus *M*².

615. nostros *UDXMm*²: vestros *m*¹⁵.

617. moveri *UDXMm*²: videri *M*².

618. e templo *UDXM*: extemplo *m*. ipsa *U²DXMm*: vesta *U*¹.

619. qua primum *DXMm*: quam primum *U*¹: quum primum *U*².

620. pudoris *UXMm*²: pudore *m*¹: ruboris *Dm*².

621. vetitas *UXMm*¹: posititas *Dm*².

622. sollemni *UXm*¹: sollemnes *Dm*²: solennes *M*. voce *UXMm*:
ora *D*.

623. sitque *UXMm*: sicque *D*.

- 625 arserat hoc templum, signo tamen ille pepercit
 ignis : opem nato Mulciber ipse tulit.
 namque pater Tulli Volcanus, Ocrecia mater
 praesignis facie Corniculana fuit.
 hanc secum Tanaquil sacris de more peractis
 630 iussit in ornatum fundere vina focum :
 hic inter cineres obsceni forma virilis
 aut fuit aut visa est, sed fuit illa magis.
 iussa foco captiva sedet : conceptus ab illa
 Servius a caelo semina gentis habet.
 635 signa dedit genitor tunc cum caput igne corusco
 contigit, inque comis flammeus arsit apex.

- Te quoque magnifica, Concordia, dedicat aede
 Livia, quam caro praestitit ipsa viro.
 discite tamen, veniens aetas, ubi Livia nunc est
 640 porticus, immensae tecta fuisse domus ;
 urbis opus domus una fuit, spatiumque tenebat,
 quo brevius muris oppida multa tenent.
 haec aequata solo est, nullo sub crimine regni,
 sed quia luxuria visa nocere sua.
 645 sustinuit tantas operum subvertere moles
 totque suas heres perdere Caesar opes.
 sic agitur censura et sic exempla parantur,
 cum iudex, alios quod monet, ipse facit.

- Nulla nota est veniente die, quam dicere possis.
 650 Idibus Invicto sunt data templa Iovi.

626. mulciber *XMm*¹ : mulcifer *UDm*².
 627. ocrecia *U* : ocrisia *Xm*¹ : cresia *MB*⁵ : cressaque *Dm*².
 628. praesignis (presignis) *UDXM* : praesigni *m*. facie *UDM* :
 faciem *Xm*. corniculana *UDXM* : corniculata *m*.
 629. secum tanaquil *UDMm* : tanaquil secum *X*.
 630. fundere *UDXMm*¹ : subdere *M*².
 631. hic *DXMm* : hinc *U*⁵. obscaeni (obscoeni, obsceni) *U²DXMm* :
 ornati *U*¹.
 632. illa *UXm*¹ : ipsa *DMm*².
 633. iussa *UDMm*¹ : fessa *Xm*². foco *UXMm*¹ : loco *Dm*².
 sedet *UDXMm* : fovet *three* *5*. illa *DMm*¹ : illo *UXm*².
 635. tunc *UDXMm*¹ : tum *m*². cum *UXMm* : et *D*. igne
UXMm : ense *D*.
 636. comis *UDM* : coma *Xm*. arsit *UDXMm*² : exit *M²B⁵F⁵* :
 haesit *M*².

drapery. This temple was once burnt, yet the fire spared the statue: Mulciber himself rescued his son. For the father of Tullius was Vulcan, his mother was the beautiful Ocesia of Corniculum. After performing with her the sacred rites in due form, Tanaquil ordered Ocesia to pour 5 wine on the hearth, which had been adorned. There among the ashes there was, or seemed to be, the shape of the male organ; but rather the shape was really there. Ordered by her mistress, the captive Ocesia sat down at the hearth. She conceived Servius, who thus was begotten of seed from 10 heaven. His begetter gave a token of his paternity when he touched the head of Servius with gleaming fire, and when on the king's hair there blazed a cap of flame.

To thee, too, Concordia, Livia dedicated a magnificent shrine, which she presented to her dear husband. But 15 learn, thou age to come, that where Livia's colonnade now stands, there once stood a palace huge. The single house was like the fabric of a city; it occupied a space larger than that occupied by the walls of many a town. It was levelled with the ground, not on a charge of treason, but because its 20 luxury was deemed harmful. Caesar brooked to overthrow so vast a structure, and to destroy so much wealth, to which he was himself the heir. That is the way to exercise the censorship; that is the way to set an example, when the judge does himself what he warns others to do. 25

PR. ID. 12th. ID. 13th.

The next day has no mark attached to it which you can note. On the Ides a temple was dedicated to Unconquered

638. caro *DXMm*¹: primo *U*: sacro *m*²: privo *C. Schenkl*: proprio *Riese*. ipsa *U*: illa *DXMm*.

640. immensae *UMm*²: immensae *D*: immensi *Xm*¹.

642. tenent *UDMm*¹: tenet *Xm*².

644. sua *Um*: sua est *DXM*.

648. iudex *UDM* and apparently most *MSS.*: vindex *Xm*.

649. nota *UDXMm*²: mora *Mm*¹. quam *UDXMm*: quin two *S*.
dicere *UDXMm* and most *MSS.*: ducere *Mm*²: discere four *S*. possis
UDMm: possem *X*.

- et iam Quinquatrus iubeor narrare minores.
 nunc ades o coeptis, flava Minerva, meis.
 " cur vagus incedit tota tibicen in urbe ?
 quid sibi personae, quid stola longa volunt ? "
 sic ego. sic posita Tritonia cuspide dixit :
 (possim utinam doctae verba referre deae !)
 " temporibus veterum tibicinis usus avorum
 magnus et in magno semper honore fuit.
 cantabat fanis, cantabat tibia ludis,
 cantabat maestis tibia funcibus :
 dulcis erat mercede labor. tempusque secutum,
 quod subito gratae frangeret artis opus . . .
 adde quod aedilis, pompam qui funeris irent,
 artifices solos iusserat esse decem.
 exilio mutant urbem Tiburque recedunt.
 exilium quodam tempore Tibur erat !
 quaeritur in scaena cava tibia, quaeritur aris ;
 ducit supremos naenia nulla toros.
 servierat quidam, quantolibet ordine dignus,
 Tibure, sed longo tempore liber erat.
 rure dapes parat ille suo turbamque canoram
 , convocat ; ad festas convenit illa dapes.
 nox erat, et vinis oculique animique natabant,
 cum prae-composito nuntius ore venit,
 atque ita ' quid cessas convivia solvere ? ' dixit
 ' auctor vindictae nam venit ecce tuae.'
 nec mora, convivae valido titubantia vino
 membra movent ; dubii stantque labantque pedes.
 at dominus ' discedite ' ait plaustroque morantes
 sustulit : in plaustro scirpea lata fuit.

651. quinquatrus *Mm*¹: quinquatros *U*: quinquatres *D*: quinquadrus *Xm*⁴.
 652. flavae *UDXMm*: ruvae *Bentley, Haupt*.

654. stola *Xm*¹*Cs*: toga *UDMm*⁴.

656. possim *UXm*¹: possem *DMm*⁴. pace velim (*for possim utinam*)
one S (approved by *Heinsius* and adopted by *Burman*, perhaps rightly).

657. avorum *UDXMm*: amorum *a London MS. (Merkel's A)*.

661. secutum *UDXm*: secutum est *M*.

662. gratae *UDM* and most *MSS.*: graiae *Xm* (corrected) *BS*. opus
*UDG*⁵ (approved by *Heinsius*, comparing *Fasti*, i. 268 "artis opus"): opes
*XMm*⁵. There appears to be a lacuna after verse 662.

663. aedilis *UM*: edilis *Dm*: alidis *X*. pompam *U* and two *S*
 (preferred by *Heinsius*): pompa *DXMmBCS*.

664. iusserat *UDXMm*: iusserit *C*. esse *UXMm*: ire *D*.

Jupiter. And now I am bidden to tell of the Lesser Quinquatrus. "Now favour my undertaking, thou yellow-haired Minerva. Why does the flute-player march at large through the whole city? What mean the masks? What means the long gown?" So did I speak, and thus did 5 Tritonia answer me, when she had laid aside her spear—would that I could report the very words of the learned goddess! "In the times of your ancestors of yore the flute-player was much employed and was always held in great honour. The flute played in temples, it played at games, 10 it played at mournful funerals. The labour was sweetened by its reward; but a time followed which of a sudden broke the practice of the pleasing art. . . . Moreover, the aedile had ordered that the musicians who accompanied funeral processions should be ten, no more. The flute-players went 15 into exile from the city and retired to Tibur: once upon a time Tibur was a place of exile! The hollow flute was missed in the theatre, missed at the altars; no dirge accompanied the bier on the last march. At Tibur there was a certain man who had been a slave, but had long 20 been free, a man worthy of any rank. In his country place he made ready a banquet and invited the tuneful throng; they gathered to the festal board. It was night, and their eyes and heads swam with wine, when a messenger arrived with a made-up tale, and thus he spoke (to the 25 freedman): 'Break up the banquet without delay, for see here comes the master of thy rod!' Immediately the guests bestirred their limbs, reeling with heady wine; their shaky legs or stood or slipped. But the master of the house, 'Off with you all!' says he, and when they dawdled 30 he packed them in a wain that was well lined with rushes.

665. exilio *DMm*¹: ex illo *UXm*².

tiburque *UM*: tyburque *DXm*.

666. exilium *UDMm*¹: x illo *Xm*².

tibur *UM*: tybur *DXm*.

668. toros *Um*¹: choros *DXMm*¹.

669. servierat *UDXm*²: servus erat *Mm*¹.

670. tibre sed *UDMm*²: tyburis et *Xm*¹. 671. suo *UDMm*²: suas *Xm*¹.

672. convocat *UDX²Mm*²: convenit *X²m*¹(?). convenit *UDX²Mm*²:

convocat *X¹m*¹.

675. quid cessas *UDMm*: quod caesar *X*.

convivia *UDXm*: convivas *M⁵*.

676. nam *UDXM¹m*²: iam *M²m*¹B⁵.

ecce *UDXM²m*¹: ille *M¹m*²5.

tuas *UXm*: suae *DM⁵*.

680. scirpea *UDXm*: scyrpea *M*.

lata *UDXMm*: nata a number

of 5: matta a few 5: strata *Heinsius*.

- alliciunt somnos tempus motusque merumque,
 potaque se Tibur turba redire putat.
 iamque per Esquilias Romanam intraverat urbem,
 et mane in medio plaustra fuere foro.
- 685 Plautius, ut posset specie numeroque senatum
 fallere, personis imperat ora tegi,
 admiscetque alios et, ut hunc tibicina coetum
 augeat, in longis vestibus esse iubet ;
 sic reduces bene posse tegi, ne forte notentur
- 690 contra collegae iussa redisse sui.
 res placuit, cultuque novo licet Idibus uti
 et canere ad veteres verba iocosa modos."
 haec ubi perdocuit, " superest mihi discere " dixi
 " cur sit Quinquatrus illa vocata dies."
- 695 " Martius " inquit " agit tali mea nomine festa,
 estque sub inventis haec quoque turba meis.
 prima, terebrato per rara foramina buxo
 ut daret, effeci, tibia longa sonos.
 vox placuit : faciem liquidis referentibus undis
- 700 vidi virgineas intumuisse genas.
 ' ars mihi non tanti est ; valeas, mea tibia ' dixi :
 excipit abiectam caespitem ripa suo.
 inventam satyrus primum miratur et usum
 nescit ; at inflatam sensit habere sonum
- 705 et modo dimittit digitis, modo concipit auras.
 iamque inter nymphas arte superbus erat :
 provocat et Phoebum. Phoebus superante pependit ;
 caesa recesserunt a cute membra sua.

681. alliciunt *UDXm* : adliciunt *Burman, Ehwald-Lewy*. tempus
 motusque *UDm* : tempusque metusque *X*.

682. potaque *DXm*¹ : totaque *UMm*¹ *F and many* 5.

685. Plautius *Pighius* : callidus *U¹DXm* and most *Mss.* : claudius
*U*¹ : cautius *one* 5 ("cod. *Pigh.*" *Merkel*). posset *UDXm* : possent
Riese. senatum *DM* : senatus *Um*¹ : paratus *Xm*¹.

687. admiscetque *DMm* : ammiscetque *UX*.

688. esse *UDXm* : ire *two* 5.

690. collegae *UDm* : collegii *X*. redisse *DXm*¹ : redire *M* 5 :
 venisse *U* : venire *a few* 5.

691. licet *UDXm* : libet *one* 5.

692. modos *UDm*¹ : melos *M*¹ : iocos *X*.

694. quinquatrus *UXm*¹ : quinquatris *Dm*¹ *BC* 5.

695. agit *UXm*¹ : habet *M* : ait *Dm*¹.

696. turba *UDXm* : cura *Koch, Riese*.

The time, the motion, and the wine allured to slumber, and the tipsy crew fancied that they were on their way back to Tibur. And now the wain had entered the city of Rome by the Esquiline, and at morn it stood in the middle of the Forum. In order to deceive the Senate as to their persons⁵ and their number, 'Plautius commanded that their faces should be covered with masks; and he mingled others with them and ordered them to wear long garments, to the end that women flute-players might be added to the band. In that way he thought that the return of the exiles could be¹⁰ best concealed, lest they should be censured for having come back against the orders of his colleague. The plan was approved, and now they are allowed to wear their new garb on the Ides and to sing merry words to the old tunes.'

When she had thus instructed me, "It only remains for me to learn," said I, "why that day is called Quinquatrus." "A festival of mine," quoth she, "is celebrated under that name in the month of March, and among my inventions is also the guild of flute-players. I was the first, by piercing²⁰ boxwood with holes wide apart, to produce the music of the long flute. The sound was pleasing; but in the water that reflected my face I saw my virgin cheeks puffed up. 'I value not the art so high; farewell, my flute!' said I, and threw it away; it fell on the turf of the river-²⁵ bank. A satyr found it and at first beheld it with wonder; he knew not its use, but perceived that, when he blew into it, the flute gave forth a note, and with the help of his fingers he alternately blew out and drew in his breath. And now he bragged of his skill among the nymphs and³⁰ challenged Phoebus; but, vanquished by Phoebus, he was hanged and his body flayed of its skin. Yet am I the

697. buxo *UDXM*: busso *m*.

700. vidi virgineas *DXMm*: vidi et virgineas *U*.

701. mihi *DXMm*: mea *U* and three *S*.

703. primum *UDM*: primo *Xm*. et *UDMm*¹: ad *Xm*².

704. at *B*: et *UDXMm* and apparently all other *MSS*. inflatam *Xm*¹:
efflatam *UDMm*². sensit *Um*³: sentit *DXMm*¹.

705. dimittit *UDXMm*²: demittit *m*¹(corrected). digitis *UDXM*^{2S}:
digitos *Mm*¹(corrected) and apparently most *MSS*.

sum tamen inventrix auctorque ego carminis huius.

710 hoc est, cur nostros ars colat ista dies."

Tertia lux veniet, qua tu, Dodoni Thyone,

stabis Agenorei fronte videnda bovis.

haec est illa dies, qua tu purgamina Vestae,

Thybrī, per Etruscas in mare mittis aquas.

715 Si qua fides ventis, Zephyro date carbasa, nautae.

cras veniet vestris ille secundus aquis.

At pater Heliadum radios ubi tinxerit undis,

et cinget geminos stella serena polos,

tollit humo validos proles Hyriea lacertos :

720 continua Delphin nocte videndus erit.

scilicet hic olim Volscos Aequeque fugatos

viderat in campis, Algida terra, tuis ;

unde suburbano clarus, Tuberte, triumpho

vectus es in niveis, Postume, victor equis.

725 Iam sex et totidem luces de mense supersunt,

huic unum numero tu tamen adde diem :

sol abit a Geminis, et Cancrī signa rubescunt ;

coepit Aventina Pallas in arce coli.

Iam tua, Laomedon, oritur nurus ortaue noctem

730 pellit, et e pratis uda pruina fugit :

709. inventrix *U¹DXMm* : inventor *U¹*.

710. colat *UDXMm¹* : colit *m¹*.

711. lux *DXM¹m¹CFG⁵* : nox *UM²m¹* and apparently most MSS.
veniet *UDXMm¹* : venit *m¹*. dodoni *Dm* : dodony *U* : dodona *X* :
sidoni *M*. thyone *U* : thione *DXm¹* : dione *Mm¹C* and many *S* : tithoni
m¹. 714. mittis *U¹DXMm* : mittit *U¹*.

715. carbasa *UDMm²* : verbera *X¹m¹* : munera *X¹m¹*.

717. tinxerit *UDXMm¹* : duxerit *m¹*.

718. After this line verses 401, 402 of Book III. are repeated in the text of *M* and in the lower margin of *U*. I learn from Merkel that the same two lines are here repeated also in *BCF* and many other MSS.

719. tollit *UDXm* : tollit *M*. validos *U¹DXMm¹* : radios *m¹* :
pallidos *U¹*. hyriea *Heinsius* : hyrisea *U¹* : hyrea *U¹* : hirea *DXMm¹* :
hyrisea *m¹* : hirtea *m¹*.

721. hic *DM* : hinc *Um¹* : haec *Xm¹*. volscos *U¹XMm* : vulscos
U¹D. aequeque *UXm* : equosque *DM*.

723, 724. These two verses are omitted in *X* : no sign of a lacuna.

inventress and foundress of this music ; that is why the profession keeps my days holy."

XVII. KAL. IVL. 15th.

The third day will come, on which thou, O Thyone of Dodona, wilt stand visible on the brow of Agenor's bull. It is the day on which thou, O Tiber, dost send the filth of 5 Vesta's temple down the Etruscan water to the sea.

XVI. KAL. 16th.

If any trust can be put in the winds, spread your canvas to the West Wind, ye mariners ; to-morrow it will blow fair upon your waters.

XV. KAL. 17th. XIV. KAL. 18th.

But when the father of the Heliades shall have dipped 10 his rays in the billows, and heaven's twin poles are girdled by the stars serene, the offspring of Hyrieus shall lift his mighty shoulders above the earth : on the next night the Dolphin will be visible. That constellation once indeed beheld the Volscians and the Aequians put to flight upon 15 thy plains, O land of Algidus ; whence thou, Postumius Tubertus, didst win a famous triumph over the neighbouring folks and didst ride victorious in a car drawn by snow-white horses.

XIII. KAL. 19th.

Now twice six days of the month are left, but to that 20 number add one day ; the sun departs from the Twins, and the constellation of the Crab flames red : Pallas begins to be worshipped on the Aventine hill.

XII. KAL. 20th.

Now, Laomedon, thy son's wife rises, and having risen she dispels the night, and the dank hoar-frost flees from the 25

723. unde *UDM²m²* : inde *M¹m¹*. tuberte *two S* : tiburte *UDM* :
 tuburte *m*. 724. postume *U²* : posthume *M²* : postmodo *UDM¹m¹BCG*
 and many *S*. 725. supersunt *UDXM¹m¹* : supersint *m²*.
 727. a geminis *U* : e geminis *DXM¹m*.
 730. uda *UM¹m*(corrected) : una *Dm²* : cana *XM²*.

reddita, quisquis is est, Summano templa feruntur,
tum, cum Romanis, Pyrrhe, timendus eras.

- Hanc quoque cum patriis Galatea receperit undis,
plenaque securae terra quietis erit,
735 surgit humo iuvenis telis afflatus avitis
et gemino nexas porrigit angue manus.
notus amor Phaedrae, nota est iniuria Thesei :
devovit natum credulus ille suum.
non impune pius iuvenis Troezena petebat :
740 dividit obstantes pectore taurus aquas.
solliciti terrentur equi frustra et retenti
per scopulos dominum duraque saxa trahunt.
exciderat curru lorisque morantibus artus
Hippolytus lacero corpore raptus erat
745 reddideratque animam, multum indignante Diana.
" nulla " Coronides " causa doloris " ait ;
" namque pio iuveni vitam sine vulnere reddam,
et cedent arti tristia fata meae."
gramina continuo loculis depromit eburnis
750 (profuerant Glauci manibus illa prius,
tunc cum observatas augur descendit in herbas,
usus et auxilio est anguis ab angue dato),
pectora ter tetigit, ter verba salubria dixit :
depositum terra sustulit ille caput.
755 lucus eum nemorisque sui Dictynna recessu
celat : Aricino Virbius ille lacu.

731. summano UDX: sumano Mm.

732. tum UXm²: tunc DMm¹.

733. hanc XM: hunc UDM and most MSS. galatea U: galathea DXM: gallathea m.

735. telis S: stellis UXMmG and many S: flammis DC⁵. afflatus UDXMm: adflatus Burman, Ekwald-Leny. avitis DXMm: acutis U.

736. gemino nexas UDXMm: geminas nexa H. Peter.

739, 740. These two lines are wanting in DXMm, but they are found in U. It appears that they are also omitted in BC and other MSS. They were condemned by Heinsius. Merkel omitted them in his first edition and bracketed them in his third.

749. gramina UDMm¹: carmina XM².

751. tunc UDMm¹: tum XM². augur UDXMm and apparently almost all other MSS.: anguis one S (Merkel's 23). in herbas UDXMm⁵: ad umbras three S.

752. auxilio est UXMm: auxilio (without est) D. anguis UDXMm

meadows. The temple is said to have been dedicated to Summanus, whoever he may be, at the time when thou, Pyrrhus, wast a terror to the Romans.

XI. KAL. 21st.

When that day also has been received by Galatea in her father's waters, and all the world is sunk in untroubled sleep, there rises above the horizon the young man blasted by the bolts of his grandsire and stretches out his hands, entwined with twin snakes. Familiar is the tale of Phaedra's love, familiar, too, the wrong that Theseus did, when, too confiding, he did curse his son to death. Doomed by his piety, the youth was journeying to Troezen, when a bull cleft with his breast the waters in his path. Fear seized the startled steeds; in vain their master held them back, they dragged him along the crags and flinty rocks. Hippolytus fell from the car, and, his limbs entangled by the reins, his mangled body was whirled along, till he gave up the ghost, much to Diana's rage. "There is no need for grief," said the son of Coronis, "for I will restore the pious youth to life all unscathed, and to my leechcraft gloomy fate shall yield." Straightway he drew from an ivory casket simples that before had stood Glaucus' ghost in good stead, what time the seer went down to pluck the herbs he had remarked, and the snake was succoured by a snake. Thrice he touched the youth's breast, thrice he spoke healing words; then Hippolytus lifted his head, laid upon the ground. He found a hiding-place in a sacred grove and in the depths of Dictynna's own woodland; he became Virbius of the Arician Lake. But Clymenus and

and apparently almost all other MSS.: augur one 5. Heinsius condemned verses 751, 752 as spurious, but conjectured that we should read anguis descendit in 751 and augur (or Glaucus) in 752. The transposition of augur and anguis between the verses was accepted, on the strength of two manuscripts, by Merkel in his first edition, and he further substituted in 751 ad umbras for in herbus, the reading of the best MSS.

755. sui UDM¹m: tui X(t in erasure)M². dictynna m: dycinna UM: dictinna D: dictymna X. recessu UDM¹: recessus X (but final s perhaps a later addition).

at Clymenus Clothoque dolent : haec, fila reneri,
hic, fieri regni iura minora sui.

Iuppiter exemplum veritus direxit in ipsum
760 fulmina, qui nimiae noverat artis opem.
Phoebe, querebaris : deus est, placare parenti :
propter te, fieri quod vetat, ipse facit.

Non ego te, quamvis properabis vincere, Caesar,
si vetet auspicium, signa movere velim.
765 sint tibi Flaminius Trasimenaque litora testes
per volucres aequos multa monere deos.
tempora si veteris quacris temeraria damni,
quintus ab extremo mense bis ille dies.

Postera lux melior : superat Masinissa Syphacem,
770 et cecidit telis Hasdrubal ipse suis.

Tempora labuntur, tacitisque senescimus annis,
et fugiunt freno non remorante dies.
quam cito venerunt Fortunae Fortis honores !
post septem luces Iunius actus erit.
775 ite, deam laeti Fortem celebrate, Quirites :
in Tiberis ripa munera regis habet.
pars pede, pars etiam celeri decurrite cumba,
nec pudeat potos inde redire domum.
ferre coronatae iuvenum convivium lintres,
780 multaue per medias vina bibantur aquas.

757. clymenus *Heinsius* : clymenes *FG* : limenus *four* ζ : limeneus *two* ζ : lachesis *UDX* (in erasure) *Mm* (rewritten in a later hand). clothoque *UDXMM* : plutoque *Ehwald*. haec *UMm*¹ : hic Λ (the i in erasure) *m*² : sua *Dm*². reneri *Salmasius* : teneri *UDXMM* and apparently all other *vss.* In this disputed passage I accept the emendation and interpretation of *Heinsius* as clearly right.

758. hic *UDXm* : et *M*.

759. exemplum *X²M* : exemplo *UDm*¹ : exemplo *X¹m*². direxit *UXMm* : dilexit *D*. ipsum *UXMm*¹ : illum *Dm*².

760. nimiae *UDMm* : nimie *X*. noverat *UDXm*¹ and most *vss.* : moverat *m*² and a few ζ (compare *Fasti*, i. 268 "Movi callidus artis opus")

762. fieri *UXMm*² : fieri *Dm*¹.

763-770. These transposed these eight lines so as to follow verse 794.

764. vetet *UM*¹ : vetat *DXMm* (corrected).

765. sint *UDXMM* : sunt *RF*⁵.

766. monere *U²DXm*² : movere *U¹Mm*¹.

Clotho grieved, she that life's broken thread should be respun, he that his kingdom's rights should be infringed. Fearing the example thus set, Jupiter aimed a thunderbolt at him who knew the resources of a too potent art. Phoebus, thou didst complain. But Aesculapius is a god,⁵ be reconciled to thy parent: he did himself for thy sake what he forbids others to do.

X. KAL. 22nd.

However great thy haste to conquer, O Caesar, I would not have thee march, if the auspices forbade. Be Flaminius and the Trasimenean shores thy witnesses that the¹⁰ kind gods give many warnings by means of birds. If you ask the date of that ancient disaster, incurred through recklessness, it was the tenth day from the end of the month.

IX. KAL. 23rd.

The next day is luckier: on it Masinissa defeated Syphax, and Hasdrubal fell by his own sword.¹⁵

VIII. KAL. 24th.

Time slips away, and we grow old with silent lapse of years; there is no bridle that can curb the flying days. How quickly has come round the festival of Fors Fortuna! Yet seven days and June will be over. Come, Quirites, celebrate with joy the goddess Fors! On Tiber's bank she²⁰ has her royal foundations. Speed some of you on foot, and some in the swift boat, and think no shame to return tipsy home from your ramble. Ye flower-crowned skiffs, bear bands of youthful revellers, and let them quaff deep draughts of wine

768. quintus *UDXm¹FGS*: quartus *Mm¹*: quantus *m¹*. bis *DXMm*: erit *U* and three *S*.

772. et fugiunt *UXMm¹*: effugiunt *Dm²*. remorante *UDXMm*: retinente *S*: revocante *S*.

774. post *UDXM²m*: per *M¹*.

775. fortem *UXMm¹*: fortes *Dm²*.

776. munera *UDXM¹m*: numina *M²*.

777. cumba *U¹*: cymba *U²XMm*: cimba *D*.

779. coronatae *UDXm*: coronati *M*.

780. bibantur *UXMm*: labantur *D*.

plebs colit hanc, quia qui posuit, de plebe fuisse
fertur et ex humili sceptrā tulisse loco.
convenit et servis, serva quia Tullius ortus
constituit dubiae templa propinqua deae.

- 785 Ecce suburbana rediens male sobrius aede
ad stellas aliquis talia verba iacit :
" zona latet tua nunc, et cras fortasse latebit :
dehinc erit, Orion, aspicienda mihi."
at si non esset potus, dixisset eadem
790 venturum tempus solstitiale die.

Lucifero subeunte Lares delubra tulerunt
hic, ubi fit docta multa corona manu.
tempus idem Stator aedis habet, quam Romulus olim
ante Palatini condidit ora iugi.

- 795 Tot restant de mense dies, quot nomina Parcis,
cum data sunt trabeae templa, Quirine, tuae.

- Tempus Iuleis cras est natale Kalendis :
Pierides, coeptis addite summa meis.
dicite, Pierides, quis vos adiunxerit isti,
800 cui dedit invitas victa noverca manus.
sic ego. sic Clio : " clari monumenta Philippi
aspicis, unde trahit Marcia casta genus,
Marcia, sacrificio deductum nomen ab Anco,
in qua par facies nobilitate sua est.

783. et *UDMm*¹ : haec *Xm*². serva quia *UDMm* : quia serva *D*.

785. rediens *UDXMm* : residens *M*².

788. aspicienda *UDXMm* : conspicienda *M*².

789. potus *UX²Mm*² : pulsus *DX²m*¹. eadem *UDXMm* : eodem *M*².

792. fit *UDMm*² : sit *Xm*¹.

793. tempus *UDMm* : templum *X*. stator aedis *m* (aedis in margin) :
stator edis *U* : sator aedis *M*² : statoris *DXMm*². habet *UDXMm* :
erit *M*². quam *UM*² : quod *DXMm*. The line is read confusedly in
the other manuscripts, but clearly and almost correctly in *U*, thus : tempus
idem stator edis habet quam Romulus ol(im), the last two letters being cut off.

796. sunt *UDXMm*¹ : sint *m*².

799. adiunxerit *M* and a few *S* : adduxerit *UDXmBCFGS*. isti
DXm : istuc *U* : illi *M*² : istis *M*².

800. invitas *UD* : invictas *XMm*.

802. trahit *UXMm* : trahat *D*. marcia *U* : martia *DXMm*.

803. marcia *U* : martia *DXMm*.

804. sua est *U* : sua *DXMm*.

on the bosom of the stream. The common folk worship this goddess because the founder of her temple is said to have been of their number and to have risen to the crown from humble rank. Her worship is also appropriate for slaves, because Tullius, who instituted the neighbouring temples of the fickle goddess, was born of a slave woman. 5

VII. KAL. 25th. VI. KAL. 26th.

Lo, returning from the suburban shrine, a maudlin worshipper thus hails the stars: "Orion, thy belt is now invisible, and perhaps it will be invisible to-morrow: after that it will be within my ken." But if he had not been 10 tipsy, he would have said that the solstice would fall on the same day.

V. KAL. 27th.

Next morn the Lares were given a sanctuary on the spot where many a wreath is twined by deft hands. At the same time was built the temple of Jupiter Stator, which Romulus 15 of old founded in front of the Palatine hill.

III. KAL. 29th.

When as many days of the month remain as the Fates have names, a temple was dedicated to thee, Quirinus, god of the striped gown.

PR. KAL. 30th.

To-morrow is the birthday of the Kalends of July. 20 Pierides, put the last touches to my undertaking. Tell me, Pierides, who associated you with him to whom his step-mother was forced to yield reluctantly. So I spoke, and Clio answered me thus: "Thou dost behold the monument of that famous Philip from whom the chaste Marcia is 25 descended, Marcia who derives her name from sacrificial Ancus, and whose beauty matches her noble birth. In her

- 895 [par animo quoque forma suo respondet ; in illa
 et genus et facies ingeniumque simul.]
 nec quod laudamus formam, tu turpe putaris :
 laudamus magnas hac quoque parte deas.
 nupta fuit quondam matertera Caesaris illi.
 810 o decus, o sacra femina digna domo ! ”
 sic cecinit Clio. doctae assensere sorores ;
 annuit Alcides increpuitque lyram.

805, 806. *These lines appear to be the clumsy interpolation of a scribe who wished to explain superfluously the meaning of the verse 804. The lines were condemned as spurious by Broeckhusius and Burman and bracketed by Merkel² and Davies.*

807. tu *UM*² and a few *5* : tam *DXM*¹*m*.

810. sacra *UDXM*¹*m* : sacro *M*². domo *UDXM*¹*m*² : deo *M*².

812. annuit *UDXM*¹*m* : adnuit *Riese, Peter, Ehwald-Levy*. lyram *UM* : lyra *DXm*. *With increpuitque lyram compare Ovid, Heroides, iii. 118 “Threiciam digitis increpuisse lyram.”*

At the end of this book of the Fasti in U (Codex Ursiniensis) the following four verses are subjoined in the handwriting of the original scribe :

Si novus a Iani sacris numerabitur annus
 Quintilis falso nomine dictus erit.
 si facis, ut fuerant, primas a Marte Kalend(as)
 tempora constabunt ordine data suo.

The same four verses are reported by Heinsius and Merkel to exist in five or six other MSS., some of which appear to read ducta or quaeque for data in

the figure answers to the soul; in her we find lineage and beauty and genius all at once. Nor deem our praise of figure base; on the same ground we praise great goddesses. The mother's sister of Caesar was once married to that Philip. O glorious dame! O lady worthy of that sacred house!" So Clio sang. Her learned sisters chimed in, Alcides bowed assent and twanged his lyre.

verse 4. *It is impossible that these doggerel lines can have been written by Ovid. They seem to have been inserted by a copyist who wished to explain why in the old Roman calendar July was called the fifth month (Quintilis), the year being then reckoned to begin with March and not with January. But this had already been explained by Ovid (Fasti, iii. 149).*

Heinsius was told by Gronovius that he (Gronovius) had seen an old edition of the Fasti containing a manuscript note of the German poet Celtes Protacius to the effect that the remaining six books of the Fasti were preserved by a presbyter in a village near Ulm, and that in the manuscript the beginning of the Seventh Book ran thus:

"Tu quoque mutati causas et nomina mensis

a te qui canitur (or sequitur), maxime Caesar, habes."

But Heinsius thought that Celtes Protacius had been deceived, and that the last six books of the Fasti had perished many centuries ago, since no quotations from them are extant in Lactantius, Priscian, and other ancient writers, who cite passages from the first six books.

END OF VOL. I

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